SOME ASPECTS OF SYNTACTIC CHANGE IN GERMANIC

WITH PARTICULAR REFERENCE TO DUTCH

submitted by Kathryn Burridge
for the Degree of Ph.D. to
The School of Oriental and African Studies
of
The University of London

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

ABSTRACT

This study examines certain features of Dutch syntax between approximately 1300 and 1650. Of central importance are the overall developments in the word order patterning and the various changes they entail elsewhere in the grammar, such as in the negative construction. Possible explanations are discussed both in the light of available theories of change and of related research into Dutch and other Germanic languages.

Chapter 1 provides the goals and background information to the study. Chapter 2 gives a brief review of the relevant literature on the subject of syntactic change, with emphasis on approaches to word order change and models of word order. An outline of the methodology is given in Chapter 3. Chapter 4 is concerned with the quantitative analysis of the data. Considerable attention is also paid to contextual considerations and the pragmatic aspect of word order. Part of this chapter is also devoted to the difficulty of assigning clause types at this time. Chapter 5 deals specifically with the question of exbraciation. Here a number of linguistic and non-linguistic factors are correlated against the various rates of exbraciation. Chapter 6 returns to the functional aspect of word order. A number of different features of Middle Dutch syntax are examined which all point to the importance of the notion Topic in the language at this time. Decreasing Topic-prominence is then linked with the stabilizing of fixed verb-second order. Chapter 7 provides a detailed analysis of the development of negation. Comparative data is examined from related Germanic languages and the whole is viewed within the wider context of an overall typological change which has occurred in these languages. Once again this is linked with the development of verb-second order. Chapter 8 presents a summary of the findings here. The aim is to see which, if any, of the various theories of change discussed in Chapter 2 are confirmed by the facts discovered here, since most of these theories rely initially on only a very limited data base for their support.

The Appendix has two sections. The first provides a sketch grammar of Middle Dutch. This is by no means a complete treatment, but contains only what is essential for the understanding of the sentence examples cited here. The second section gives a list of all the texts (together with brief description) which make up the corpus of material used here.

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CHAPTER 1

Background Information

1.0 Introduction

It has been within the last two decades that linguistics has witnessed a considerable upsurge of interest in the area of historical syntax, primarily word order. During this time, a number of different theories have emerged, most of which, however, base themselves on only very little empirical evidence. What is lacking, then, is a comprehensive data base against which such theories can be checked. A number of recent studies in Old English (principally Kohonen 1978, and Bean 1983) have made this possible. The aim here is to provide a similar treatment for Dutch. Fortunately, Dutch is a language which has a long and very flourishing written tradition, from which we have at our disposal a wonderful collection of both literary and non-literary texts essential for a study such as this.

In a sense, then, this work is both philological and theoretical. It aims at providing a detailed description of the word order patterns and related syntactic features at various stages during the period of Middle Dutch, at the same time offering the necessary data against which to test the current accounts of change. Use is made here also of comparative evidence from other Germanic languages. I should point out that this treatment of Dutch is largely taxonomic, and examines the changes in the surface word order only. Nonetheless, occasional use is made of certain features of generative grammar, including concepts like topicalization and left-dislocation which obviously operate on the notion of a deep structure. This framework was chosen here because if offers a convenient analysis for the description of such grammatical phenomena as these, and one which is most familiar in the relevant literature.

It is to be hoped that findings here will help to provide at least some insights into the motivation of syntactic change and with respect to Dutch in particular, help to solve some of the questions surrounding the nature of its syntactic system during this early period; for example, the debate as to whether or not Dutch could be said to have had a verb-

second constraint at this time.

This chapter gives the necessary background information to the present investigation. It begins with a definition and description of Middle Dutch and the two dialects which are considered here and then goes on to discuss the text material on which the study is based.
It concludes with a very brief consideration of previous studies on word order in Dutch, and points out why a more detailed descriptive work is needed.

1.1 What is meant by Middle Dutch?

The term *Middle Dutch* is used here to describe the compound of dialects northern and southern, spoken in the Netherlands during the Middle Ages. As a term, *Middle Dutch* does present a number of problems which have to do with the exact dating and the precise geographical location of the language it sets out to describe. Haeringen (1954) rejects it totally as both impractical and misleading, and uses instead the term *Middle Netherlandic* (*Netherlandic* is a recently coined word which, together with *Netherlandish*, is now being used by linguists to describe the language known traditionally to us as Dutch). Although this is perhaps a useful cover term, the term *Dutch* is retained here since it is more widely used in the literature.

Etymologically, Modern English *Dutch*, Modern German *Deutsch* and Modern Dutch *duits* are identical.(1) Historically they can be derived from a Proto-Germanic word **þiuda*, which must have had a meaning something like 'people' or 'nation' (Gothic *þiuda*, Old English *þeod* and Old High German *diota*). From this origin, it assumed the meaning of 'the vernacular' and therefore referred to any particular dialect of West Germanic as spoken on the Continent. The meaning was then extended to include also the people who spoke these dialects. In the English of the Middle Ages, then, the equivalent of *Dutch* included the dialects and people of both Germany and the Netherlands, here including present-day Belgium (i.e. *German* as used in the very broadest sense). With the emergence of the Dutch Republic in the 17th century, the *Nederduytsch* (or *Low German*) as spoken in the province of Holland, then the most powerful of the United Provinces, developed as the national language, and the term *duitsch* (spelled now as *duits*) was restricted to the

language and people of Germany (as was the equivalent term *Deutsch* in German). *Nederduits* then came to refer to only the language spoken in the northern parts of Germany. In England during the 17th century, the term *Dutch* was also restricted, but was applied instead by English speakers to the language and people of the Netherlands with which they came into contact during that time (i.e. of the north). It is during the 17th century, then, that English usage diverged from the German and Netherlandish. Now the linguistic term *Dutch* does not normally include in its view the language spoken in the northern region of Belgium (for which *Flemish* is reserved; cf. later discussion).

In fact, for a study such as this, the term *Dutch* in its broadest sense is probably the most appropriate term, since it is in precisely this word that the medieval name and its usage at the time is preserved (although admittedly it is a restriction of that original meaning). *Netherlandish/Netherlandic* may be less ambiguous but it does not have this advantage. In fact, there can also be considerable uncertainty as to the exact geographical area which the term *Netherlands* specifies. Nowadays, it generally refers to the Kingdom of the Netherlands, although in its very broadest geographical sense it can describe all the lowlands of north-western Europe; i.e. the Low Countries. In that respect, then, *Netherlandish/Netherlandic* is no less ambiguous than *Dutch*.

As the above discussion already implies, the term *Middle Dutch* is of course only a convenient abstraction. At no time did there ever exist any one uniform language to which it could be applied, but rather a compound of a number of different dialects. The dialects of the two southern provinces, Flanders and Brabant, then the most flourishing and important provinces of the Low Countries, provided the source for much of the written material from that time. Flanders and Brabant maintained this lead (although during the 15th century Brabant emerged ahead of Flanders, both economically and culturally) until the end of the 16th century when, after the rebellion against Spain, the focus of cultural and economic importance switched in general from the south to the north, and Holland took over the lead.

For this present study of *Middle Dutch* two dialects were chosen, both of which can be shown to carry with their diverging historical develop-

ments interesting diverging linguistic developments as well which will be examined here.

The first dialect of interest is *Brabantish*, the language of the medieval duchy of Brabant mentioned above. During the Middle Ages, the area it covered was very much larger than the modern-day Belgian province of Brabant and included such towns as Brussels, Antwerp, Breda, Mechelen, Leuven and 's-Hertogenbosch.

Hollandish, the second dialect, describes the language of the former province of Holland (now divided into North and South Holland). Included here were such towns as Amsterdam, Delft, Haarlem, Leiden, 's-Gravenhage and Rotterdam. As briefly mentioned above, with Holland as the most powerful of the United Provinces in the new Republic, this dialect dominated and was used as the basis for the emerging standard language. The province's dominance politically, economically and also linguistically is reflected in the common use of *Holland* as the name for the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

There are two other important southern dialects which will be referred to during this study, but not examined in the same detail as the two dialects above. The first of these is *Flemish*. Here *Flemish* is used in its restricted sense and applies only to the linguistic area of Medieval Flanders. In some works a further division is made into *East* and *West Flemish*. Clearly then, *Flemish* is not meant in the broader sense (as in common English usage) where it refers the Netherlandish spoken today in the whole of northern Belgium. *Limburgish* makes up another important southern dialect. It included an area roughly the size occupied by the modern-day Belgian Limburg and southern Dutch Limburg.(2)

The exact time span covered by the term *Middle Dutch* is somewhat arbitrary and varies from work to work. Verdam's Middle Dutch dictionary includes only entries from material until about 1500.(3) The *Woordenboeck der Nederlandsche Taal* considered to be representative of the so-called *New Dutch* era begins in practice around 1600. Willemyns (1979) writes correctly that it is impossible to give a precise date for the end of the Middle Dutch period, especially when one takes into consideration the enormous regional differences. If it were possible to decide upon any sort of linguistic criteria, the result would be different dates for each regional dialect (i.e. *Middle*

Brabantish, Middle Flemish, Middle Limburgish, etc.). The compromise Willemyns adopts in his book is to consider the 16th century as a sort of transition period from *Middle* to *New Dutch* which perhaps could be called *Early New Dutch.* His collection of non-literary Middle Dutch material contains then extracts from works up to and including the end of the 16th century.

The beginning of *Middle Dutch* poses less of a problem. Documents from the so-called *Old Dutch* period are scarce. It is best represented by a 10th century version of a few psalms - the *Wachtendonckse Psalmen-vertaling* as it has been called. The psalter fragments today survive in one manuscript dating from the 16th century. The origin of the fragments has been established as the south-eastern most part of the Dutch-speaking area of the time.(4) Unfortunately as a translation of a Latin original, it is of little use for the purpose here of syntactic research. The remaining evidence for *Old Dutch* can be found in the form of proper names and words which appear in the Latin charters of the time, and in the famous *OldDutch* sentence -

"Hebban olla uogala nestas bigunnan
hinase hi(c) (e)nda thu
uu(at) unbida(n) (uu)e nu" (5)
'All the birds have begun (their) nests
Except for me and you
what are we now waiting for'

Clearly even after salvage work has been carried out here, still next to nothing will ever be known about the syntax of *Old Dutch.* There exists then a large gap in time before the next documents begin to appear, which makes the task of finding an appropriate date to mark the beginning of *Middle Dutch* an easy one. The first literary text to appear, the *Sente-Servas-fragmenten,* is reputed to be of southern origin from around 1160-70 (cf. Willemyns 1978:15-16). It is not until almost half a century later that the first non-literary texts in *Middle Dutch* begin to appear. These date from 1236 and are two Gent statutes which are translations of Latin originals dated 1218.

For convenience the dates given for each text in all the tables are only approximate. They correspond to the following texts, the details of which can be found in Appendix 2.

	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	De Visioenen van Hadewijch	Boec van medicinen in Dietsche
1350	Het "Boeck van Surgien" van Meester Thomaes Scellinck	unnamed text to be found in Braekman collection (1970)
1450	-	unnamed text to be found in Braekman collection (1970)
1500	T Bouck van Wondre	-
1550	Cruydtboeck	unnamed text to be found in Braekman collection (1975)
1600	Tractaet van Dyckagie	Beschryvinghe der Stad Leyden
1650a	Het masker van de wereldt afgetrocken	Alle de wercken so in de medecyne als chirurgye
1650b	Niuwe noodelicke ortographie tot het schrijven en 't drucken van onse neder-duytse tale	-

1.2 A discussion of the texts chosen for study here

Obviously when chosing texts for a study such as this, the first consideration is to chose material which is as free as possible from literary ambitions so as to reflect more closely the spoken idiom of the time. And whilst it is not clear the degree to which foreign influence extends into syntax, especially word order, obviously the risk of this is best avoided by considering only original works and not translations; that is, as far as one can ever be sure that a work is original. With respect to some texts, there can be doubt as to whether or not they are translations of original works which have since been lost. To the best of my knowledge, no translations are included here. Occasionally some of the works consulted, especially the medical treatises, may contain sections which are versions of an older Latin original. These are *not* translations, however, and they show a syntax quite independent of the Latin. Paraphrasingand plagiarism were anyway a thriving practice in the Middle Ages, and are likely features of many works handed down to us, including literary ones.

Of course foreign language influence need not only arise from translations. When using legal documents, for example, one must be aware of the possible risk of a conscious imitation on the part of the writer of Latin models. And this is not only with respect to stylistic and lexical considerations, but more importantly syntactic ones. Despite this risk, legal texts have at times been used in this study, but only ever as a secondary source (cf. discussion below).

The possibility of German and especially French influence in the language of these early Dutch texts must not be overlooked. In the works of the 14th century Brabantish mystics, for example, influence from German is certainly obvious, but this seems confined largely to the borrowing of terms. Similarly, the influence of French, the prestige language of the time, appears largely lexical (although with respect to the two dialects considered here, French influence would not have been as strong as on Flemish, for example; cf. De Vooys 1952). It is generally assumed that the influence of these languages does not extend to the syntax, although in Chapter 5 we will discuss one area where this is possibly the case.

In our search for text material which resembles everyday speech, the whole question arises as to the status of the written language versus the spoken language as reliable linguistic data. As Romaine (1982:14) points out, the supposed supremacy of the spoken language over the written for the purpose of modern linguistic study has remained unchallenged. The spoken form is considered to be the only "true manifestation of language". While it would seem to me wrong to consider either one as the only real expression of language, it is clear that with respect to Middle Dutch, one of the so-called "dead languages", nothing exists in the spoken form. The written language, as it survives today is the only evidence at our disposal of a medieval speech community in Holland during the Middle Ages. And if we want a linguistic analysis of the Dutch spoken at that time, then we have little choice but to consult written sources. But like the spoken language, the written language also exists in many different varieties, and where we must chose carefully is in matters of style.

During the Middle Ages we can assume at least that there would not have existed such a gap between the spoken and the written word as exists today. For one, there was no long established written tradition and scribes were not confined in their language usage to norms fixed by any existing grammars (these did not appear until the 16th century). By chosing prose, then, with a minimum of literary convention, I maintain it is possible to get a clear picture of the language as it was spoken at the time. Poetry is to be avoided. As the most extreme of literary expression, it can often contain an abundance of archaisms (which admittedly can be useful at times in their own right) and, with respect to word order, often permit deviations from normal, or expected patterns in order to accommodate matters of rhythm and rhyme.

Inaddition, one must bear in mind, that specific literary genres, especially those with a specialized context, can contain a proliferation of certain syntactic constructions and a consequent lack of others. No better illustration of this can be found than in Gerritsen's (1982a) study of the imperative construction in Middle Dutch. Texts normally considered suitable for syntactic research were of limited value for her purposes. More appropriate, however, was the language contained in recipes and medical prescriptions of the time, where, with the intention

of instructing the reader, the author naturally resorted to frequent use of the imperative construction; a construction otherwise relatively rare in most other texts. Legal texts can contain a great number of what become almost formulaic expressions, and the risk of course is that these texts begin to retain archaic features in their syntax. As Smith (1971) points out, the narrower or more specialized the content, the more rigid the style is likely to be and the more likely it is that archaisms survive here in marginal and special functions. Legal texts are a good example of this. Not only do they have a characteristic form, but they show a definite preference towards certain older construction types.

Romaine (1982:112-113) discusses a relevant point here. She notes how certain features of language more so than others can be seen to be conditioned by these considerations of style. The occurrence of phonemes, for example, is governed by language alone so that a relatively small sample regardless of stylistic considerations will yield typical results for any phonemic investigation. On the other hand, the occurrence of word order patterns (or Romaine's special interest - relative markers) is governed by both language and style (i.e. involving positive choice). Romaine's study of the relative markers of Middle Scots is accordingly based upon a very large corpus showing great diversity of style. It should be pointed out, however, that Romaine's aims are somewhat different from those of the present study. Romaine seeks to establish the stylistic options which correlate with the variation she finds within relative marking in Middle Scots. This seems to be a stable variation which can be seen to exist still in Modern Scots today. As she herself states - "variation of this type does not imply change". Her aim, then, is a stylistic continuum, ranging from written language which she assumes is close to natural language (she uses here comic verse) to that which contains a high degree of literary artificiality (such as formal courtly poetry) to correspond with so-called levels of usage. This present study has not been able to investigate these sociolinguistic factors. Nonetheless, what it does offer is a systematic investigation of certain syntactic features of Middle Dutch over a considerable time span; namely, approximately 350 years. The aim, then, is to isolate the linguistic factors which correlate with any changes observed during this time, with the

view to a possible explanation of these changes. It is, therefore, most essential for a study such as this that the corpus of texts chosen be relatively unmarked stylistically and in this sense as far as possible homogenous over the time span selected. Only this will ensure comparability of text material. Such a study as that carried out by Van der Horst and Van der Wal (1979), for example, on the development of the Dutch negative construction (cf. Chapter 7 here for discussion) can be criticised for the fact that the source material includes a great many different types and styles of texts, including an admixture of poetry and prose. In addition there is no clear division of dialects. Such a practice could yield a misleading picture of the relative chronology of the changes taken place.

Watkins (1976) argues also for thematic comparability of texts in comparative syntactic research (cf. also Gerritsen (1982a) for discussion of this).

> "A fruitful heuristic technique in comparative syntax is the exploration of the syntactic expression of similar thematic contexts" (p.314)

Although Watkins here is referring specifically to the techniques of reconstruction as used across cognate languages, his point is also valid for syntactic study of the development of one particular language only. If we consider the way in which similar themes are discussed by different writers over the years, then those syntactic changes which have taken place in the language should become obvious in the works of these writers, with the minimum of interference from extra-linguistic factors. In other words, we can assume that writers even over the years will use the same way to write about the same subjects. And in addition, texts which are comparable in both style and in subject-matter would imply the same kind of writer. In this way we can avoid the added complexity of the involvement of factors from the sociolinguistic background of the writers themselves.

The texts chosen here, then, were done so with the following four points in mind -

i) Only one *type* of text material should be used and *prose* is essential.

ii) Texts should display a homogeneity of *style* and the style chosen should as closely as possible reflect the natural

language of the time. Works showing a high degree of literary convention must be avoided.

iii) Texts should originate from one geographical area (i.e. represent one *dialect*).

iv) As far as possible, texts should be of similar *thematic material*.

350 years was considered to be an optimal time span here. This covers most of the period known as Middle Dutch and sees the beginning of Early New Dutch. It can, therefore, be considered a time-lapse long enough to give a systematic idea of any change in the language. Obviously practical considerations enter here in the selection of a corpus of texts. Given the limitations imposed by the above four points with regard to type, style, dialect and theme, it is difficult to find representative texts over such a long time span. As it was decided to examine a text roughly every 50 years, a large number of texts was needed. The corpus of material chosen here, then, is a homogeneous one only as far as the availability of texts permit.

The two dialects chosen, Brabantish and Hollandish, have already been discussed. The type of text selected is prose and the style is that of the non-literary prose contained in *Fachprosa* or technical prose, such as medical treatises, herbals, recipes and directions on dike-building and magic. These texts have the advantage that, as one writer states in the introduction to a 16th century herbal, they are for reading by the general public and therefore contain the language *van den ghemeynen man, ende van alle de ghene die de stade oft gheleghentheyt niet en hebben om de Latijnsche spraeck* ('of the common man and of all those who do not have the occasion or the opportunity for the Latin language').(6) Subject matter may differ slightly from text to text, but they are all bound together by the fact that all texts are aimed at informing and instructing the reader.

Texts of another style were consulted, which I shall call the style of personal account. Slightly more literary in flavour than some of the texts of instruction, these include personal letters, travel accounts and one 13th century account by a young Brabantish girl Hadewych, of visions she has experienced (the most literary of all in style because of the religious content).

In addition a number of legal documents were consulted, but these were treated separately from the above as they contain a non-literary style very much more formal than any of the other texts. Legal documents, however, have a number of advantages -

1. They include a large body of written material covering a continuous and long period of time for Middle Dutch.
2. The dialect and exact date of these documents can be established with relative certainty.
3. These early charters and contracts were intended for those who could not read Latin, so although of a formal style, the fact that they were aimed at the lesser educated must mean that they are written in a language close to the vernacular of the day.

They do however have the disadvantages already intimated; namely, that the language can be extremely repetitive and almost formulaic at times. For this reason they are not considered a primary source for this study.

The texts of instruction make up the bulk of the source material. One advantage of occasionally consulting texts of another style is that it means that the extra-linguistic factors, such as Romaine is concerned with, are not totally overlooked; that is, as long as the styles are kept distinct. In this way, any variation which is peculiar to the style of these texts of instruction will be revealed. We can then be more sure that our findings are representative of the language as a whole and not of one certain style; here the style of these more technical texts. Bean (1983) in her study of Old English word order concludes precisely this when she attributes the high frequency of TVX structures in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to the vivid narrative style in which it was written - "The Chronicle is not representative of the vernacular language, but rather of a developed narrative style" (p.17).[7]

With the texts I have chosen I maintain it is possible to get an accurate picture of the changes which have taken place in the characteristic patterning of the language over nearly four centuries. Of course written language of any form must always reflect to some extent the spoken language of the time (since we presume it was both read and

understood by speakers then). And I assume, therefore, that all written language, even the most highly literary, must eventually show any changes in that language - the gap does not simply go on widening between the spoken and the written forms. But the picture presented us by literary texts will not be a clear-cut or accurate one, especially as regards the relative chronology of the changes. As mentioned, stylization does lead to the retention of forms, even after they have been ousted from the spoken language (similarly innovations may only appear in texts long after they have been accepted in the spoken language). This problem of the conservatism of the written language is minimized however in texts less removed from the natural language, andthose used here were chosen with this in mind.

Texts in the corpus, then, are from 6 different points in time between approximately 1300 and 1650. A list of the texts is provided together with a few lines of description for each in Appendix 2 at the end of this study.

1.3 Justification for a study of Middle Dutch word order

Of the many studies which have been carried out on word order change in the Germanic languages, very few have focused on this aspect of the development of the Dutch language. This is particularly surprising in view of the large amount of written material, both literary and non-literary, which we have at our disposal. Recently, more studies have become available but they are incomplete for a number of reasons.

1) Emphasis on very different aspects and different points in time:

A number of studies offer careful analyses of the development of particular features of word order, or else focus on one specific dialect. Earlier studies by Gerritsen (1978, 1980), for example, include an investigation of word order patterns of one particular Limburgish text of the 13th century. De Meersman (1980a) examines the word order of Brabantish subordinate clauses during the 14th century. Van der Horst and Van der Wal (1979) trace the development of negation in the history of Dutch (cf. Chapter 7 here for discussion). Gerritsen (1982a) gives an account of the development of the imperative construction in Dutch. But as yet there exists no one study which treats word order changes within different clause types from early

Middle Dutch into Early New Dutch, and one which also takes into account existing dialect differences.[8]

2) Different methodologies:

Those studies already available to us, although extremely interesting and useful in their own right, are, nonetheless, of little use for providing an overall view of Middle Dutch word order in that different methodologies make the comparison of findings a difficult, if not impossible task. Very different criteria are often employed to identify individual word order arrangements within clauses. Constituents considered relevant for a word order count vary from work to work, and the classification of clause types is often not identical. In fact, early studies neglect the clausal distribution of word order patterns entirely. The essential distinction between main and subordinate clauses, for example, is simply not made. De Meersman's study on dependent clause word order in 14th century Brabantish considers only those clauses with three elements S, V and X (where X = direct or indirect object, adverbial or predicate nominal). Furthermore, only those clauses in which the subject is in initial position are counted. Obviously, criteria such as these will exclude a large body of data and will affect De Meersman's findings dramatically. I know of no other study which makes use of such criteria, and I am at a loss to see the relevance of restricting one's data to only three-constituent clauses. Such a practice can only give a misleading picture of the facts. It also makes comparison with other studies difficult and of limited reward. Comparison with Gerritsen's findings (1978, 1980), is of little value, so different are the methodologies of both.

3) Once more the question of style:

As discussed in some detail already, it is desirable that comparison be made only between studies using texts of similar type and style. A comparison of verse and prose, for example, unless it is specifically to isolate stylistic factors, could present misleading results.

In the following, then, I have attempted to pay particular attention to these potential drawbacks so that the conclusions reached may, as far as possible, be free from uncertainty or doubt.

FOOTNOTES

1. For more specific etymological details cf. Kluge-Götze, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache* (1957), and Franck-Van Wijk, *Etymologisch Woordenboek* (1912).

2. For a study of the word order of the Limburg dialect cf. Gerritsen (1978) and (1980). Ginneken (1938) provides a brief sketch of the whole grammar.

3. The full title given this monumental work (most part of which was carried out by Verdam although he chose to retain the name of Verwijs for all volumes) is *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboeck.* The first volume was completed in 1885 and although most entries do go up to approximately 1500, later volumes can be seen to contain also a number of quotations which date from the first half of the 16th century. The *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboeck* (The Hague 1911) was completed by Verdam when the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboeck* was complete as far as the entries for 'S'. Although of course a very much smaller work, the *Handwoordenboeck* has the advantage that it does in fact contain more entries overall.

4. The psalter fragments have been edited and published together with a grammar by W.L. van Helten, *Die altostniederfränkischen Psalmenfragmente, die Lipsius'schen Glossen und die altsüdmittelfränkischen Psalmentfragmente*, Groningen 1902 (also republished in *Classics in Germanic Literatures and Philosophy*, New York, London 1969). Later studies include H.K.J. Cowen's *De Oudnederlandse (Oudnederfrankische) psalmentfragmenten*, Leiden 1957 and R.L. Kyes' *The Old Low Franconian Psalms and Glosses*, Ann Arbor 1969.

5. This controversial Old Dutch sentence was first published and interpreted by M. Schönfeld (1936) in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 52.

6. R. Dodoens made this statement in the introduction to his *Cruydtboek* (± 1550). With the noble aim then of making such valuable information available to all men Dodoens completed this enormous work only to find people admonishing him for

not producing a Latin version for those who did not have command of the 'Neder-duydtsche tale'.

> "Maer nochtans en hebben sy my gheensins stil oft ongequelt ghelaten, maer my seer dickwils vermaent, dat ick 't selve boeck, dat ick in Duytsch hadde uytghegheven, oock in de Latijnsche sprake soude stellen, op dat het volck, dat een' andere tale, dan onse Nederlantsche, ghebruyckt, 't selve boeck oock verstaen ende ghenieten moghte".
>
> ('But nevertheless, they have in no way left me in peace or untroubled, but have on a number of occasions advised me that I should also compose the same book, which I had published in Dutch, in the Latin language, so that the people who use another language other than our own Netherlandish, are also able to understand and enjoy the same book')

7. For a discussion of the verb-second character of Old English cf. Gerritsen (1982b).

8. Forthcoming, however, is Marinel Gerritsen's dissertation *Veranderingen van de plaatsing van de zinsdelen ten opzichte van de werkwoorden in het Nederlands: vergelijking met de andere Germaanse talen en verklaring voor de verschillen en overeenkomsten*, which aims at a comprehensive account of changes in the verb position in Dutch and related Germanic languages within the context of current theories and syntactic change.

CHAPTER 2

MAJOR APPROACHES TO THE STUDY OF SYNTACTIC CHANGE

2.1 Introduction

While there are many works which provide relatively up-to-date reviews on the literature which has to do with word order change (cf. Kohonen 1978, Bean 1983, for example), it is, nonetheless, preferable here also to supply a brief sketch of those current theories which attempt to shed light on the question of word order change. Only when this is done, is it possible to see how the facts of Dutch discovered here relate to other reported accounts of change and to see which, if any, of the theories of changes they support.

Proposed theories of change fall within two broad categories:

1. Those which look to contact or some sort of external influence as the cause of change
2. Those which look to possible internal motivation to account for existing syntactic patterns and their historical development

Within this second category, three major approaches will be distinguished here:

2a. Transformational - included here are
   i) those accounts in which the transformational component is the main locus of change
   ii) those accounts which view change in terms of restructuring in the base

2b. Functionalist - included here are those accounts which appeal to 'functional and perceptual strategies' (for example - 'afterthought' phenomena, markedness reversals, perceptual difficulties, etc...)

2c. Typological - the focus here is on those accounts of change in terms of 'drift', as well as subject and topic typologies

2.2 External factors - change caused through contact:

In attempting to account for syntactic change in language, a number of linguists appeal to what has been termed "forced change" (Bickerton and Givón 1976), or language change through contact. Just as lexical items and phonological and morphological patterns can be borrowed, so too may

the syntactic patterns of one language be borrowed into the syntactic system of another language. The conditions favouring syntactic borrowing also seem to be the same as those favouring borrowing from other parts of the grammar; i.e., influence from a prestige language, language of a conquering people etc...(1)

In syntax, however, there exists a very great problem in determining exact instances of borrowing. Syntactic constructs are such that it is difficult to distinguish between cases of parallel but independent syntactic development, and cases of borrowing. Consider, for example, the instance of a word order change from OV to VO. Linear ordering is a universal feature of language. The syntactic categories O and V have been posited as universals for language, and there are numerous attested cases of word order changes of this type. It is extremely difficult in such cases to attribute the word order change to suspected external influence from another language of VO type. The chance of parallel but independently motivated change is very great. The increasing VO character of Old English may have been due to the internal dynamics of the langauge itself, or there exists the very great possibility of borrowing from Celtic and French sources, both VO languages which have come into close contact with English at various stages of its development.

Gerritsen (1982b) presents an interesting argument in which she suggests that the disappearance of the verb-second constraint and the early stabilization of verb-third order in Middle English can be attributed to the possible creolization of Old English as a result of the Norman Conquest (1066-1200), with Scandinavian influence from earlier invasions also playing a probable role. The creole character of Middle English has been argued for in a number of sources (principally, Bailey and Maroldt 1977 and Domingue 1977). Gerritsen also points out an important fact supporting her argument; namely, that "verb third order is a hard and fast rule in creoles for sentences beginning with a constituent other than the subject....in cases of interference or pidginization of two or more languages of which only one or none has XSV-order, a development of verb third order still takes place" (p.17). There exists, however, also the very real possibility that the verb third order of Middle English can be attributed to *direct* influence from French. As Gerritsen also concludes, the sociolinguistic situation of the time needs more thorough investigation before a decision can be made as to

which of the two hypotheses is the more plausible. And yet contact of any sort may not be a viable explanation at all. It has been suggested (Givón 1976a,1977; Stockwell 1977 and Vennemann 1974) that the word order drift SOV ⟶ TVX:VSO ⟶ SVO is a natural drift in Germanic (with claims also to universality; cf. later discussion). The developments in English, then, could be simply part of this overall drift. This fact makes it even more difficult to assess the degree of influence on English from French, be it via creolization or direct borrowing. Perhaps all one can safely say is that the whole process was considerably speeded up on account of contact.(2)

The difficulty in determining borrowed syntactic patterns has caused some linguists to disregard syntax as a borrowable item; hence the famous quote of Meillet:

> "The grammatical systems of two languages are impenetrable to one another" (1921:84)

But language contact is a well-attested mechanism for language change, and there is evidence in the history of numerous languages of instances of syntactic innovation, the most likely explanation for which is external motivation. Evidence from New High German for example, suggests that certain characteristics typical of SOV language (prenominal participial constructions, and verb-final order in subordinate clauses, for instance) which appeared during the 16th century are prestige borrowings from Latin during that time. Similarly, I will be appealing to specific Latin models for the source of certain changes which took place in late Middle Dutch.

The position that syntax *cannot* be borrowed is as unrealistic as the claim that contact is the *only* viable explanation for change. Smith (1981:51) makes such a claim when he attributes the word order correlations suggested by Greenberg's study (and used by Vennemann and Lehmann in their theories of language change) to "external factors... above all borrowing as a result of language contact". But the fact that there does exist an inter-relationship between certain word order structures which points to common patterns of development across languages (all of which is of great interest and importance to any theory of language change) is totally lost by appealing solely to the haphazard workings of linguistic borrowing. The contact explanation implies there is no system to change - that it is entirely dependent on the accidental contact of

languages, be it due to historical, political, geographical or even cultural considerations. While contact is a valid explanation for certain syntactic changes, it is not the sole explanation, nor is it realistic to attribute all parallel syntactic development across languages to the random workings of borrowing. And the borrowing explanation itself begs a number of questions. What are the exact circumstances which dictate that some items are borrowed, as opposed to others? Influence on Persian from Arabic, for example, has been enormous (cf. discussion Vennemann 1974). Arabic, a VO language, was for 1,200 years a superstratum and during this time influenced greatly the Persian lexicon, and induced a number of syntactic changes (placement of genitive and adjective after the noun, for example). But one pattern which resisted this influence was that of the verb and its object - Persian remained OV. Why? As yet we know little or nothing about the mechanics of borrowing. Is it simply a random choice what is and what is not borrowed into a language, or does the internal dynamics of the language ultimately control this process? Koch (1974) even claims that the role of contact in language change can only ever be to accelerate trends which are already existing in a language.

> "However, the only role of foreign influence which is well-attested is its tendency to accelerate changes which are already underway in a language....Unless it can be shown that the word-order changes described above are imminent in languages, and are thus accelerated, rather than caused, by contact with other languages, the foreign influence explanation ought to be a very last resort" (p.104).

2.21 External factors - sociolinguistic aspects of change:

So far only contact has been considered here as a possible external factor causing change. Obviously, in matters of language change, stimuli can come also from inside society. The most eloquent statement on the place of sociolinguistic variables in the study of language change comes from Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1975), although, of course, it was Labov (1965, 1971, 1972, 1974) who first pointed out that the role of society was a viable area of linguistic study, and who outlined a comprehensive methodology which enabled us to carry out research into the speech community and examine the spread of change through that community.

Labov's work has prompted a number of recent studies investigating linguistic processes in speech communities of the past. Romaine (1982) studies the sociolinguistic variation within relative marking in Middle Scots. Ebert (1980, 1981) investigates social and stylistic variation in early New High German word order. Using an impressively rigorous methodology based on Labov-type techniques (Labov 1971), Ebert shows convincingly that it is possible to examine the socio-economic and stylistic factors influencing a language, for which there are only written records available. Once again, however, the problem exists here, as in the case of contact, in distinguishing between mechanism and motivation of language change. It is extremely difficult to decide the degree to which sociolinguistic factors are the device by which changes initiated by some other factor(s) are achieved; i.e. an "accelerating agent" which encourages changes already underway in the language (cf. Aitchison 1981:127) or rather the initial cause for change. For example, Ebert (1980) looks to chancery usage of the 15th and 16th centuries as the prestige model for the stabilization of verb-final order in New High German subordinate clauses. To what extent can chancery usage be seen as the motivating force behind the fixing of subordinate clause order, or as simply the means by which the change was able to spread through the language?

Although in a number of instances appeals have been made to sociolinguistic factors to account for variation in the results of this present study, there can be no doubt that the study as a whole suffers from the fact that systematic investigation of these factors has not been possible (cf. discussion Chapter 2). For, as Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1975) state, any study neglecting these aspects must, by necessity, be incomplete.

> "Linguistic and social factors are closely interrelated in the development of language change. Explanations which are confined to one or the other aspect, no matter how well constructed, will fail to account for the rich body of regularities that can be observed in empirical studies of language behaviour" (p.188)

Certainly, studies like those of Romaine and Ebert have shown that it is possible to correlate historical linguistic data with social and stylistic variables, giving us insight into the stimulus for changes in the past and their subsequent spread through the speech community - if not providing the actual *cause* of the changes. If such a study were to be carried out

on the present data, it would most certainly help to explain why, for example, the results of some texts consistently contradict the trends of change established by the majority of texts under study.

2.3 Transformational approach - changes within the transformational component:

During the 1960's, the early work of the generative grammarians placed syntax at the centre of linguistic research. The linear ordering, characteristic of observable language, became a feature also of the underlying structure of language, and attention was given to establishing the transformations which were required to derive the surface structures. Syntactic change was viewed, accordingly, as change in the transformational rules (cf. discussions Bynon 1977:145-168, Lightfoot 1979:21-42, King 1969:Chapter 6, and also Canale 1978:17-42). Transformationalists described change in terms of rule addition, rule loss, rule reordering, rule simplification etc...; i.e. in the same model as that proposed for phonology by Halle (1962). Such treatment is best exemplified in the works of Klima (1964), Traugott (1965), and Lakoff (1968).

The actual instigation of these changes in rule application was believed to come in child language learning - in the "improper learning" by children of the adult grammar (cf. Kiparsky 1965) (3)

> "Each child in each new generation takes a fresh look at the situation, as it were, and the result is often simplification of a sort beyond the capabilities of adults, who have completed the construction of their grammars...the average person cannot change his grammar in radical ways once linguistic adulthood is reached"
> (King 1969:77)

Theories linking child language acquisition and language change are totally speculative. No plausible evidence has ever been provided for children as instigators of change. In fact all evidence argues against such a claim (cf. discussion Aitchison 1981: Chapter II). Without this initial motivation from child language learning, transformational grammar is unable to provide any explanatory theory of syntactic change, at least in terms of changes within the transformational component. There is no value, other than a descriptive value, in a theory which accounts for change in terms of change between the synchronic states of a language. For example, given $Grammar_1$ as the grammar of a Language A at some particular stage in its development, and $Grammar_2$ as the grammar of

that same language at some later stage, the differences between $Grammar_1$ and $Grammar_2$ are described purely in terms of changes in the transformational rules. This gives an adequate basis for the comparison and description of the two grammars, but no explanation can be provided for those changes which have occurred, nor any prediction of what possible changes may occur. Considering the power of transformational grammar, no limit can be put on the sorts of changes possible - "...virtually anything could be expressed as a rule of grammar, and thus any imaginable change could be described" (Lightfoot 1977:192).

A practical problem for the application of transformational grammar to historical linguistics is that for any one language in question there must be available a long written tradition, so that its earlier stages are known. This is, of course, a problem for any diachronic treatment of language, but especially for transformational grammar. Clearly a theory which treats change as modifications to the rules of different synchronic stages is particularly dependent on evidence from written records, and complete and reliable data do not often exist. As yet, transformational grammar has no method for the reconstruction of lost syntactic systems.

Ebert (1976) points to another important weakness. He cites as an example the case discussed by Klima (1965); namely, the changes which have taken place in English to produce the following sequences:

1a) Whom could she see?	1b) Who could she see?
2a) The man whom she spoke with left.	2b) The man who she spoke with left.
3a) It was I.	3b) It was me.

Sentence (a) in each of the three instances represents English grammar at one particular time T_1 and sentence (b) at a later stage in its development, T_2. The syntactic change which has occurred between the two language states is explained in terms of rule reordering and rule simplification of the transformation deriving the case markings (cf. also King 1969:143-150) -

T_1	T_2
Case Marking	Wh-attachment
Wh-attachment	Generalized case marking
Wh-attraction	Wh-attraction

As Klima himself notes, the change involves the case marking becoming more and more dependent on the position of elements in the surface structure[4]. But this pattern of change does not emerge when the change is described in terms of change in the transformational rules. Ebert (1976:viii) points out that:

> "The problem lies not in the individual analyses but in the limitations of transformational grammar itself, which specifies the relations between specific paradigmata but is not set up to express relations within a paradigm or the functions of specific paradigmata"

In none of the works mentioned above has it been shown conclusively that the explanation for syntactic innovations lies in the rules themselves; i.e. the transformational component has not been shown to motivate change. More recently, however, transformational grammarians have tried to work within a model of grammar in which the descriptive power of the transformational component has been more constrained and in which the notion of possible syntactic rules (both phrase structure and transformational) has been restricted (cf. discussion Canale 1978, Lightfoot 1977 and 1979).

> "By enriching the theory of rule application by developing conditions on the function of rules, one restricts drastically the role played by specific transformational rules. Thus a particular grammar within such a theory would be liable to change in various ways and not just through changes in transformational rules. Furthermore, given a restricted theory of a possible transformational rule, the scope for changes here would be extremely limited"
> (Lightfoot 1977:196)

2.31 Restructuring in the base component:

Recent works focus less on the transformational component and more on the notion of base reanalysis in their accounts of syntactic change[5]. Haiman (1974) represents one such attempt, although he combines the concept of a base reanalysis with that of a surface "linguistic target". As Haiman himself says, the concept of "linguistic target" is crucial to his work. He links several changes (obligatory pronoun subjects, 'it'/'there' insertion, subject-verb inversion, for example) which have taken place in Germanic languages in terms of a general "conspiracy" to produce a favoured surface structure or "target"; in this case, verb-second structure. The notion of "target" is very close to that of linguistic "drift" as first discussed by Sapir in 1921 (cf. later discussion).

And as we shall see is the case for "drift", it is also a problem for Haiman to account for the initial motivation for his verb-second "target" in Germanic. But we shall return to the problem of the verb-second constraint at a later date. Even given this problem, Haiman's account is more successful than most in providing an explanation for these changes in Germanic. His ideas support Lightfoot's notion of a "pure syntactic change" (cf. below) - structural pressure resulting from the emergence of the verb-second constraint is brought to bear and a number of changes are instigated to satisfy this constraint. They also have claims of universality - based on Permutter's (1971) classification of languages into type A (those with obligatory subjects) and type B (those without obligatory surface subjects), Haiman claims "that, in fact, only those languages which at some stage of their development have been strictly V/2 languages ever become strict type A languages" (p.12).

Restructuring in the base takes place when the verb-second "target" in the surface structure "goes underground" to create a new underlying order. Haiman bases this part of his argument on a proposal made by Hale (1971) with respect to phonological change and the elimination of discrepancies between canonical deep and surface forms:

> "If a constraint on canonical forms exists in surface structure, then there will be a tendency to interpret the underlying forms to which the grammatical rules apply in such a fashion that these forms too will be subject to the surface structure constraint" (p.142)

As Haiman admits, more work is needed in this area to determine, for example, the domain of a "target" - why, for instance should the verb-second "target" apply only to main declarative clauses in Germanic? And what is it that dictates that a surface "target" arises in the first place? Why do some languages lose their verb-second "target" and become verb-third (such as English and French)?

Appeals to base reanalysis are best exemplified in the many works of Lightfoot (1974, 1975, 1977, 1978, 1979). Basically, Lightfoot assumes the Extended Standard Theory framework, arguing that changes in various parts of the grammar can make deep structure rules opaque to language learners. There exists a certain tolerance level for opacity and when this has been reached the Opacity Principle is invoked and radical restructuring in the base takes place. In his more recent work (1979),

Lightfoot renames this the Transparency Principle. Restructuring may take the form of an introduction of a new category (the development of modern English modals, for example; cf. principally Lightfoot 1974), new phrase structure rules (Canale 1978, for example, proposes a reanalysis of the base rules expanding the verb phrase in late Old English), new conditions for rule application etc... These are seen in terms of therapeutic changes to keep syntactic derivations minimally complex; i.e. to make structures more transparent - "closer" to their corresponding surface structures. The resemblance of his Opacity/Transparency Principle to Haiman's motivations for restructuring (based upon Hale's proposal), as just discussed, is obvious - opacity between base and surface structures leads to a reanalysis in the base.

One notion fundamental to Lightfoot's work, is the idea of a "pure syntactic change" (cf. principally Lightfoot 1977) based on the autonomy thesis of the Extended Standard Theory. Basically, pure syntactic changes are changes affecting "only the syntactic component and not reflexes in any direct way of semantic or phonetic factors" (p.198-199). For example, a change to canonical SVO order renders the structure of impersonal expressions opaque. The result is their reanalysis as personal constructions. Both changes affect only the syntactic component, and the replacement of impersonal with personal expressions is caused by neither phonetic nor semantic considerations, but rather is invoked by a grammatical principle requiring structures "to be analysable in the most transparent fashion" (p.206)[6]. The Transparency Principle is therefore a functional principle.

Unfortunately, the Transparency Principle alone can provide no explanation or cause of syntactic change. Like other theories appealing to human perceptual strategies, until it can be shown successfully at what point the "tolerance level for opacity" is reached, Lightfoot's theory suffers from the simple fact that it is totally unfalsifiable. Even in the latest and most comprehensive statement on his position (1979:Chapter 3), he expresses "doubts as to whether one can formally determine the maximum degree to which language learners can tolerate lack of transparency" (cf. Canale 1978:33). The Transparency Principle is able to predict that a change will take place, but as Ebert (1976:xiv) states - "one cannot claim, then, to have explained a given historical change on the basis of

even a very plausible universal hypothesis simply because the hypothesis makes the correct prediction. One must try to show as best as one can that the factors in the explanation were the crucial ones in the given change". After a change from OV to VO in main clauses, for example, the Transparency Principle would predict a similar change to take place in dependent clauses to eliminate the offending opacity. Nonetheless, although it is able to predict the sort of change to take place (i.e.one to overcome the opacity) it can not predict the exact nature of the change, since, for example, the restorationof OV order in main clauses would be equally effective. But most importantly, the Transparency Principle *cannot* provide the cause for either change until it can be sufficiently constrained to determine when the restructuring need take place. Why is it that German and Dutch speakers can live with this particular opacity in their grammars, whereas it had been removed from English as early as Middle English? And once more, as in the case of explanations relying on notions of "drift" and "target", the original cause of the opacity remains obscure. For all its apparent rigour and formalism, Lightfoot's account suffers from the same weakness.

2.4 Functional and perceptual accounts of change

A brief discussion follows of those accounts of change which argue from the standpoint of some sort of theory of perception. The main focus here is on the work of Kuno (1974). Kuno argues that languages tend towards certain word order patterns as a means of minimizing those constructions, such as centre-embedding, for example, which cause ambiguity and perceptual difficulties. Following this is a discussion of those theories based more on pragmatic considerations, whereby the placement of "afterthought" material sentence-finally is seen as triggering a change from OV to VO.

2.41 Kuno's functional explanation:

Kuno in his 1974 paper concerns himself with certain typological considerations which emerge from Greenberg's study (1966). He states that he attempts to answer five questions; namely -

1. Why do relative clauses appear before the head nouns in SOV languages and after the head nouns in VSO languages?

2. Why do conjunctions appear in clause-final position in SOV languages and in clause-initial position in VSO languages?

3. Why are there no languages that regularly mark embeddedclauses in both clause-initial and clause-final position?

4. Why do SVO languages such as English, German and French have rules for extraposition and subject raising?

5. Why do most SOV languages lack relative pronouns?

(p.118)

The typological features here which Kuno discusses are related to Greenberg's Universals 3,4,12,17 and 24 (cf. discussion section 2.5). Kuno accounts for the word order correlations contained in each of the five questions in terms of a functional explanation. His position is best considered in the light of the following three statements:

a. Certain syntactic patterns (centre-embedding and conjunction juxtaposition in particular) cause perceptual difficulties.

b. Whether these patterns arise or not is determined primarily by the interaction of major constituent word orders.

c. Languages will employ devices to minimize those patterns that cause perceptual difficulties. The choice between prenominal and postnominal positioning of relative clauses and the choice between clause-initial and clause-final positioning of conjunctions are examples of such devices.

(p.118)

Kuno claims that a combination of centre-embedding and conjunction juxtaposition leads to perceptual problems. The existence of clause-final conjunctions, for example in SOV languages is, therefore, a device to avoid such constructions (cf. for examples, p.126). Clause-initial conjunctions are preferred in VSO languages for the same reasons.

In the same paper, Kuno offers a similar explanation for the correlation between postpositioning and SOV type and prepositioning and VSO type. Assuming, as he does, that attributives generally precede their head nouns in SOV languages and follow them in VSO languages (in fact this cannot be taken for granted as section 2.5 here discusses), Kuno points

out that a combination of postposed attributives and postpositions, and likewise preposed attributives and prepositions, produces a complex of centre-embeddings and conjunction juxtapositions. The correlation between verb order and adpositioning is in this way accounted for[7].

Although Kuno does not state it outright, it is clear that his work contains the essence of a theory of syntactic change involving typological universals (discussed below). His argument implies that a language showing inconsistent features will have perceptual complexities in its structure which either will ultimately cause it to move towards typological consistency, or to develop other devices to overcome the difficulties. Persian, as mentioned (cf. also footnote 7), is an inconsistent SOV language in that it has prepositions, postnominal relative clauses and clause-initial conjunctions. Firstly, Persian overcomes the predicted perceptual difficulty of an OV language with prepositions by having attributives following rather than preceding their head nouns. It also (like Bengali and Georgian) uses devices such as rightward extraposition to overcome any potential multiple-embeddings and conjunction juxtapositioning.

1a. *hama *ke donya gerd ast* midānand
all that world round is know

1b. hama midānand *ke donya gerd ast*
all know that world round is

(cf. Kuno 1974:131)

A language can, therefore, -

a. move towards typological consistency as a means of coping with perceptual problems

or

b. may develop devices (such as extraposition or other movement rules) to cope with such problems. This will either retard or completely arrest any movement towards typological consistency.

We have, then, at least one factor which contributes to word order pattern 'lag'. In Persian, for example, there is no internal pressure brought to bear for the innovation of syntactic features more consistent with its typological class, as it has developed already a means by which to cope with any perceptual problems.

Although, of course, any theory which appeals to the mechanisms of human perception awaits empirical investigation and further experimentation for confirmation (in order to establish the tolerance levels for perceptual difficulty for instance), functional arguments like Kuno's, by giving us a better understanding of why languages seem to prefer typological consistency, do show promise of providing those factors which can account for 'lag'. Typologically deviant word order patterns, like consistent ones, are also a consequence of these perceptual strategies existing in languages. Vincent (1976) also provides evidence from Latin which suggests that typological universals and word order change can be attributed to perceptual factors.

> "Perceptual factors are of necessity "fuzzy"... Hence any constraints on languages deriving from limitations on the perceptual system would only make themselves felt gradually over a period of time, thereby allowing for the existence of intermediate stages and mixed types" (p.55)

2.42 "Afterthought" phenomena:

McKnight as early as 1897 formulated a theory of change in terms of "afterthought" phenomena. His theory is based on the assumption that the shift from synthetic OV ordering to analytic VO ordering is the result of the growing communicative needs of society; that is, more and more information must be added to the main assertion of the sentence. The change from SOV to SVO in Germanic, for example, was due to the increasing complexity of sentences and the corresponding need to simplify sentences perceptually by the placement of "afterthought" material after the verb.

> "To the apparently finished sentence are added a number of explanatory details, afterthoughts; or some element, by reason of close connection with the following clause, may be put after the verb. To motives like these the analytic order probably owes its origin" (p.217)

Similarly, Hyman (1975) attributes the breakdown of OV syntax to "afterthought" phenomena.

> "The fourth and last approach to word order change I term *afterthought*...the grammatical elements between the S and V move out in accordance with the likelihood of their serving as afterthoughts" (p.119-121)

Like McKnight, Hyman maintains using evidence from Niger-Congo, that speakers of an SOV language in the organization of their sentence elements may find it necessary, having put the verb down, to add certain information, which they have forgotten to mention. This means that elements on occasion follow the verb normally found in final position. If such structures become more frequent, then verb-second position gradually dominates verb-final position. The motivation, then, for the verb shift, is essentially a pragmatic one - the relaxation of the verb-final constraint is viewed in terms of the need for speakers to add more information they had not intended to.

As Kohonen (1978:26) points out, "this predicts that there should be a scale of mobility of sentence elements, in accordance with their ability to serve as afterthoughts". What is crucial, then, are the notions of valency, or degrees of "closeness" to the verb, and the idea of obligatory and optional elements[8]. It is also, in essence, what Behaghel (1900, 1926, 1932) refers to when he speaks of 'necessary material' (*notwendige Bestimmungen*), by which he means subject, objects and predicates for the most part, as opposed to 'unnecessary material' (*nichtnotwendige Bestimmungen*), of which prepositional phrases form the greater part. The latter he views as unnecessarily expanding the main assertion of the sentence. They can appear in final position in modern German subordinate clauses (which normally have verb-final order), whereas *notwendige Bestimmungen* rarely do.

> "Notwendige Bestimmungen unterliegen weniger der Nachstellung als nichtnotwendige" (1932:44)

And the same is true of those elements which can appear postverbally in modern Dutch (cf. Chapter 5 for discussion of exbraciation). Similarly, Givón and Bickerton's study of syntactic change in the context of pidginization (1976) and Givón's account of Niger-Congo languages confirms that accusative objects show the most conservative syntax and are the last to abandon OV syntax.

The Niger-Congo languages Kpelle and Bambara, for example, show mixed syntaxes, whereby the subject and object noun phrases precede the verb, while all other verbal complements (locatives, datives and instrumentals) follow the verb; i.e. the basic word order of these languages is SOVX (where X = dative, locative etc...expressions).

While "afterthought" phenomena undoubtedly do play a role in the break-down of OV syntax, and in Chapter 5 I shall give evidence of this from Dutch, it is difficult to imagine that "afterthought" patterns alone could become so crucial as to induce a shift to SVO order; that is, that adverbs and adverbial phrases, for example, could be 'forgotten' with such consistency by speakers. And clearly there are SOV languages, Japanese and Turkish are two, which function adequately despite the 'burden' of a verb-final constraint.

In Chapter 5 it shall be shown that there are other factors involved here; namely, those of constituent 'weight' or length, degree of syntactic complexity and the degree of 'givenness' (i.e. the concept of old versus new information - clearly, "afterthought" material involves the latter). Longer constituents and those syntactically more complex (which, of course, would also imply greater length) and new information tend to be placed postverbally.

Two works have appeared recently which use basically the framework of transformational grammar, but which also make appeals to "afterthought" phenomena. I refer here to the studies of Aitchison (1979) and Stockwell (1977). Both view the postposing of "afterthought" patterns as one of a number of syntactic operations which together bring about the collapse of OV order. They are, then, less interested in the "psychological motivation" of "afterthoughts", as Stockwell himself implies (p.298-299), than either Hyman or McKnight.

Aitchison points out that in Homeric and Classical Greek infinitival complements followed the main verb. This fact she sees as adding momentum to the tendency for relative clauses to shift rightwards, which in turn encouraged the postposing of reduced relatives with participles and appositives (i.e. what is now referred to in the literature as Heavy NP Shift; Ross 1967). Together with the postposing of "afterthoughts" and rightwards deletion in coordinate structures, these various rightwards processes "snowballed and changed the language from an OV one" into VO structure (p.62). Similarly, Stockwell discusses various operations in Old English which violated the OV structure. On account of these speakers made the generalization that "verbs precede their complements" and VO surface order was grammaticalized (p.310). The ideas contained in both these works are discussed more fully in Chapter 5, when similar tendencies are examined in Middle Dutch.

The claims made by Kuno, as mentioned above, are obviously relevant here since the extraposition of subordinate clauses and 'heavy' noun phrases can be seen as a means of avoiding processing difficulties. If Kuno's claims are correct, then, as Lightfoot (1979:394) also notes, "all SOV languages will have the seeds in them for a change to underlying SVO order. This is because they will typically show surface SVO order when the object is sentential". If the rightwards operations are increased or "if the language develops further 'leaks'", this could induce a shift to VO word order. Lightfoot would argue here in terms of a base reanalysis by virtue of his Transparency Principle. Whether or not we believe that a change in underlying order takes place, it seems plausible from what we know about syntactic diffusion that change does infiltrate a language in this way (cf. Naro and Lemle 1976). If Proto-Indo-European was a 'leaky' OV language, as Aitchison suggests (p.47), then the tendency towards parallel development in the daughter languages is understandable (cf. also Lightfoot 1979:395-396).

2.5 The Typological Approach to Language Change

2.51 The notion of drift

It was Sapir (1921) who first introduced the notion of *drift* in language. He noted three drifts which were crucial to English and which he said were "constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of its speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction" (p.174). The three drifts he distinguished were - (1) the levelling of the subject/object case distinctions, (2) the fixing of word order, (3) the rise of the invariable word. These he saw as describing the process in English (among others), whereby clause-initial object 'whom' was being replaced by 'who'. The first and second drifts, Sapir saw as causally related, in that phonetic reduction and the subsequent loss of inflectional endings necessitated the fixing of word order to mark the grammatical relations which were once signalled by the inflections. The erosion of endings he, like many others (Kellner 1892, Wyld 1927, Pyles 1964, and Vennemann 1974, 1975), attributed to the shift in word stress to initial syllable in Proto-Germanic.

Although Sapir applied his ideas specifically to syntactic change in English, later works (notably those by Vennemann; cf. discussion below)

have taken up his ideas on drift and remodelled them into a universal account of language change. Vennemann (1975), in fact, criticizes Sapir for failing to note that similar drifts do occur in other languages. As Bean (1983:25-26) also notes, this is unwarranted criticism since in his discussion of the change from analycity to syntheticity in language, Sapir definitely implies the existence of universal drifts between language types:

> "The types are more useful in defining certain drifts than as absolute counters. It is often illuminating to point out that a language has been becoming more and more analytic in the course of its history or that it shows signs of having crystalized from a simple analytic base into a highly synthetic form" (p.128)

Lakoff (1972) also takes up the notion of drift in her examination of various changes in Indo-European languages which she views as part of their overall tendency towards greater use of analytic forms. She seeks to unite all three of Sapir's drifts under one larger drift which she says is characteristic of all Indo-European languages. In doing this she conjures up a "metacondition on the way the grammar of a language as a whole will change" (p.178). She concludes that without this 'metacondition' all parallel changes witnessed by these languages must be attributed to coincidence, even though she has to admit the workings of this 'meta-condition' remain mysterious to her.

> "It is not at all clear where this metacondition exists; neither as part of a grammar nor as a universal condition on the form of grammars. It is not clear how a constraint on change within one language family, a constraint that is not absolute but which is nevertheless influential, is to be thought of. But there is no other way to think of these things: either there is such a metacondition, whatever it is, or all the Indo-European languages have been subject to an overwhelming series of coincidences" (p.192)

2.52 Drift and typology

Under other approaches which make appeals to the notion drift can be included those theories of change based upon the word order universals of Greenberg (1966). Greenberg's initial work examined selected grammatical features, for the most part word order patterns, from 30 languages of the world. Statistical data in his research showed correlations between certain word order patterns and also other grammatical properties. From

his findings he listed 45 implicational universals of the type - 'if Language A has Feature F_1, then (with more than chance frequency) it also has F_2'. These constitute, then, near-universals, tendencies based on those features which emerge from the data as being the statistical predominant ones. By his work, Greenberg appeared to provide a turning point in the study of word order change, in that it gave what seemed to be a useful theoretical framework for further research in this area.

Using Greenberg's universals as evidence, Koch (1974) maintains that the parallel changes shown by the Indo-European languages are correlated with an overall word order change from SOV to SVO. She rejects, however, the claim that the cause of this change is to be found in the weakening of case inflections. Although she gives ample evidence to support her position (at least she shows that phonological reduction is not the *only* cause involved in a change of this sort), the explanation she offers in its place is far from satisfactory, in fact is no less 'mysterious' than that which is offered by Lakoff. Somehow the explanation for these changes lies in the fact that the seeds of the change to SVO order were sown already in the proto-language. Changes like the loss of inflections, the increase of prepositions and periphrastic verb constructions, for example, follow *ipso facto.*

> "Developments within the Indo-European proto-language must be responsible for those in the evolution of the derived language" (p.93)

> "It appears, then, that the parallel development of the Indo-European languages is determined by (a) change(s) of word-order in the proto-language" (p.98)

> "An explanation has been offered for the phenomenon of syntactic drift, one which is superior to that of the erosive power of phonological change and to the postulation of free-standing segments rather than bound morphemes in surface structure" (p.106)

2.53 Models of natural word order and word order change

There have been a number of proposals which seek to account for the word order correlations established in Greenberg's Appendix 3 by making claims for the existence of a basic ordering of elements to which languages naturally conform. This, then, has historical application, as the pressure to conform to this basic ordering is viewed as strong enough to initiate

changes.

The work of two linguists in particular exemplifies this position; namely, that of Lehmann (1971, 1973, 1974) and Vennemann (1972, 1973a, 1974, 1975). Though Greenberg classified languages into three basic types (VSO, SVO and SOV), both Lehmann and Vennemann reformulate his original classification to give two basic types, OV and VO. On the basis of Greenberg's results they make one overall generalization to the effect that the positioning of all sentential elements is now understood as being correlated to the basic verb position with respect to its direct object. The explanation for this is seen to lie in a structural principle which is discussed below. Those languages which conform to either OV or VO type in their word order patterns are termed 'consistent'. Accordingly, those which do not are described as 'ambivalent'.(9)

Both Vennemann and Lehmann, in fact, offer structural principles to account for the correlations they draw from Greenberg's data. The ordering relationship, then, which they see to exist between the syntactic patterns in both the verb phrase and the noun phrase (as outlined here in footnote 9) and the fact they exhibit parallel developments is explained by both linguists in terms of direct analogy; i.e. the modifier stands in precisely the same relationship to its noun as the complement or object does to the main verb. This can be formulated in the following way:

Modifier:Noun:Object:Verb

(where 'modifier' stands for adjectives, possessives, relative clauses etc...)

Vennemann's proposal appears in most of his works, but is best exemplified in Vennemann 1972. The underlying principle which he adopts, he gives the name of (Bartsch's) "principle of natural serialization" (cf. Bartsch and Vennemann 1972). This principle involves the relationship between 'operator' and 'operand' (these correspond to the usual terms 'determiner:determined', 'modifier:modified', adjunct:head' etc...). The principle is such that in languages all operators precede all operands or vice versa and can be formulated thus:

(Operator (Operand)) = [Operator [Operand]] in OV languages
[[Operand] Operator] in VO languages

The criteria Vennemann uses for determining which constituents belong to which category are

> "...that, semantically, the application of an operator results in a specification of the operand predicate, and, syntactically, the application of an operator to an operand results in a constituent of the same general syntactic category as that of the operand" (1972:81)

So that in a constituent structure AB, B is the operand if the whole structure is of the same category as B. While the assignment of the operator:operand categories is usually without controversy, there are, however, a few contentious cases. The two which are the least comfortable are the constructions involving adposition:noun and auxiliary:verb, whereby the second element is assumed to be the operator on the first. Not only does this seem counter-intuitive, but it also seems to go against Vennemann's semantic criteria (however we are to understand these). Comrie (1981:92) does point out, however, that with respect to adpositional phrases, the adposition in structuralist terms must be considered 'head', by virtue of the substitution test; i.e. the prepositional phrase in 'John is in the house' can be substituted by 'in' but not 'the house' - 'John is in' but not * 'John is the house'. And the results are the same with respect to the verb phrase; auxiliaries and modals are the 'head'.

Perhaps a more worrying aspect of Vennemann's otherwise extremely neat schema, is that no indication at all is given as to how the subject is accommodated. Given an intransitive sentence 'Fred jumps', is there no specifying relationship then between either elements? The fact is, neither Vennemann nor Lehmann consider the subject to be relevant to word order typology. As we have seen, Greenberg's three-part classification of the world's languages has been collapsed into a two-part classification; namely, VO and OV. But we shall return to this whole question of verb: object centrality below.

Lehmann (1973) offers what he terms "a structural principle of language" to explain the existence of Greenberg's implicational universals:

> "Modifiers are placed on the opposite side of a basic syntactic element from its primary concomitant" (1973:48)

According to this principle, then, verbal modifiers such as negation and modal elements are placed on the side of the verb root opposite its

object (the primary concomitant of V being O); i.e. before the verb roots in VO languages, and after verb roots in OV languages. Nominal modifiers (relative clauses, adjectives, genitive expressions) follow their head nouns in VO languages and precede them in OV languages, because they are placed on the side of the noun opposite its primary concomitant, the verb.

As Comrie (1981:91) points out, we must assume that the ordering within the object noun phrase is generalized to the ordering within other noun phrases, since Lehmann's schema makes no allowance for either subject or adverbial noun phrases, for example. This does raise a problem, however, for if this were in fact the case, then "one might expect to find languages where the order of constituents within the noun phrase was different for objects and other noun phrases, and such instances are either non-existent or rare".

But there are certain areas where Lehmann's principle simply fails to work. Firstly, it cannot account for the typological correlations between adpositioning and the placement of the verb. Lehmann's principle states that adpositions are placed before their head noun in OV languages and after their head noun in VO languages opposite their primary concomitant, the verb; i.e. it predicts that prepositions be a feature of OV type and postpositions of VO type. This is, in fact, the opposite of what is suggested by Greenberg's Universals 3 and 4. We are, then, led to the absurd extreme of positing prepositions as nouns, and the nouns as their modifiers in order to gain the correct correlation. With no definition of what we are to understand by 'modifier' in the first place, the whole process begins to look very circular. What element modifies what follows directly from the ordering of the elements (that is, as would be expected of a syntactically consistent language), when it is precisely the ordering which the principle seeks to explain. Similarly, Lehmann's principle forces one to conclude adverbs to be verbs and verbs their modifiers, in order to be able to account for V/Adverb order in VO languages and Adverb/V order in OV languages. The definition of 'modifier' is completely dependent upon the facts the principle seeks to explain.

To summarize, then, both Vennemann and Lehmann account for typological

correlations in terms of principles of language structure at some higher level (or underlying level!), and any change in the language structure is explained teleologically as a change towards "consistent implementation" of these principles. It is, therefore, a level of "pure type"; i.e. consistent OV languages represent a "consistent implementation" of, for example, the operator-operand relationship, and VP:NP relatedness is accounted for by the structural constraints of the principle.

Both Vennemann's and Lehmann's principles present us with a generalization which concisely and satisfactorily accounts for the set of implicational universals which they have drawn from Greenberg's study; i.e. they adequately predict the ordering of elements in a typologically consistent language. In this respect, they may provide us with some insight as to why languages seem to prefer consistency. But since they ultimately rest on this notion of typological consistency and "pure type" they have, as shall be shown more clearly below, the same shortcomings in an explanatory model of language change. For example, we are no closer to knowing why there are a group of languages (over half the world's languages in fact) which do not conform to either principle (i.e. languages which are typologically inconsistent). The recalcitrant data must stillbe explained away by appealing to some notion of 'lag'; i.e. that the language which is synchronically inconsistent is 'in transition' (in some case an extremely long transition) towards consistency. The fact is, as we shall see, the implicational universals, and therefore these structural principles which seek to account for them, as they now stand, have no explanatory power at all.

A further shortcoming of these two principles, as briefly alluded to above, is that fundamental to the workings of both is the notion of verb centrality, which is a notion totally unjustified. A change in verb position (and *only* a change in verb position) can act as a trigger for changes in the positioning of other elements elsewhere, as predicted by both principles. Neither Vennemann nor Lehmann consider the possibility that the noun phrase, under the pressure of their higher level principles, can initiate change in the verb phrase.

It is appropriate here that we consider in more detail the contribution of Vennemann in particular. He offers a comprehensive theory of change

which has led to both lively discussion and a number of descriptive studies of languages within his framework. His position is perhaps best exemplified in Vennemann 1974.

Basically Vennemann offers a cyclic model of change, to which three assumptions are basic:

1. The case system of a language, of the type characterized by morphological inflection exists primarily to distinguish between the two core noun phrases, the subject and object.
2. A case system is a property of XV languages (Vennemann uses the symbols XV/VX for the more usual OV/VO since constituents other than objects typically precede or follow the verb in these two types). VX languages, on the other hand, typically lack such a case system.

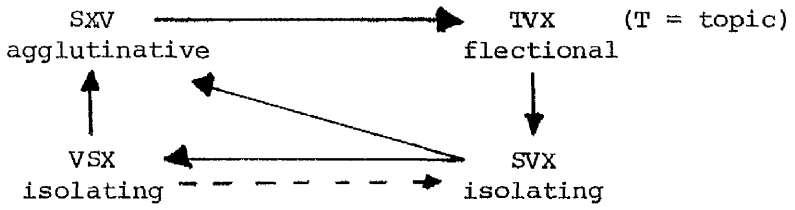
> "Where S and O are reliably, conspicuously, and uniformly marked morphologically, the position of the finite verb is not needed for S-O marking, and the language is ususally an XV language; where S and O are not marked the position of the finite verb is needed for S-O marking, and the language will be a VX language" (1974:358)

Vennemann bases this generalization on Greenberg's Universal 41.[10]

3. The third notion fundamental to Vennemann's theory is the view that phonological change is generally reductive - 'erosion' from the right.

Phonological change, then, reduces the case inflections, leading to a collapse in the case system. The verb moves into second position to take over the function of the case system in the marking of subject and object. Increasing rigidity of word order hastens the full reduction of the old morphology, if the process is not already complete.

Vennemann's theory predicts that languages change their order in a cyclic manner.[11]



(Vennemann 1974:371)

His original proposal allowed only for unidirectional path of change from

SXV to SVX. A subsequent series of papers, however, by Li and Thompson (1974 a and b) claimed a change to have taken place in Chinese of the type SVX to SXV. This caused Vennemann to then incorporate into his theory the possibility of the development of a new morphology in the process, triggering the change back to XV structure.(12)

Three important stages can be recognised in Vennemann's cyclic representation of word order change:

1. SXV - word order here serves the pragmatic function of establishing the topic-comment relationship by placing topical material before the comment.
2. The intermediate TVX stage (topic-verb-everything else) - the verb separates the topic from all other constituents.
3. SVX - word order serves the grammatical function of distinguishing S and O.

The argument Vennemann presents for the movement of the verb into second position is essentially a functionalist one, which he terms "the principle of ambiguity avoidance". He maintains that certain perceptual difficulties arise when the case inflections are lost from the noun phrase in an XV language. Among these is a topicalization problem (it is, in fact, the *only* perceptual problem which he reveals). He devotes much of his 1974 paper to the discussion of this problem, showing how it induces the verb shift to second position. The basic statement underlying his proposal is as follows:

> "...the tendency in languages seems to be to begin a main declarative clause with expressions referring to phenomena that are established in the consciousness of the interlocutors - "topics", "themes", "old information", "the unknown"; or to begin with an expression for a phenomenon which the speaker wants to place in the consciousness of his interlocutors ("focus") in order to proceed to a predication about it" (1974:355)(13)

Vennemann points out that with inadequate case morphology, if an SXV language topicalizes an object, the resulting order - NP (object) NP (subject) V - will be ambiguous. By Vennemann's "principle of ambiguity avoidance", the positioning of the finite verb becomes crucial, and it must move from final to second position to disambiguate.(14)

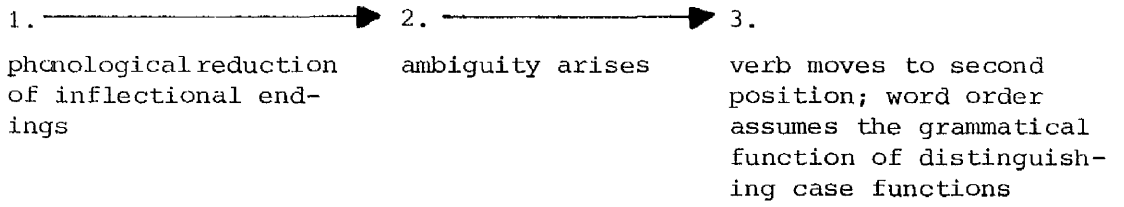
What Vennemann fails to realize, or if he does he does not mention it, is that there are VX languages with potentially the same sorts of

topicalization problems as XV languages lacking reliable case morphology. A topicalized object in TVX languages (like modern Dutch or German) results in the order - NP (object) V NP (subject) - precisely the same pattern as the basic unmarked pattern - NP (subject) V NP (object). Where subject and object are not marked clearly morphologically, as they are not in Dutch (and also German feminine and neuter and all plural nouns) then the same sort of ambiguity arises - the shift of the verb from final to second postion has done nothing to overcome S and O ambiguity.

In fact, it is rigid word order which does overcome such potential ambiguity, specifically rigid ordering of subject and object. A sentence like 'die Mutter liebt die Tochter' in German could have only one reading - 'the mother loves the daughter'; i.e. obligatory SVO reading. To topicalize an object which is not distinguished morphologically, a speaker would have to resort to an alternative construction (passive and cleft construction, for example).

In addition to this problem with regard to the "ambiguity principle", recent work has shown that it cannot be taken for granted at all that the levelling of inflections is the sole cause of word order change of the sort discussed here. Koch (1974), for instance, argues that the erosion of the case endings can only occur *after* their functions have been transferred to some other form of grammatical marking, such as rigid word order. The grammaticalization of word order, she claims, must precede the demise of a case system. Harris (1975:66-67), as he himself states, argues for the middle position here. Phonetic erosion, he says, "can, and does, create situations where grammatical change is needed if the communicative function of the language is to be maintained to the extent desired by users of that language. We have claimed, however, that grammatical change may also happen for quite different reasons, and have suggested that many of the well-known changes in Romance are to be attributed to the avoidance of purposeless variety...rather than to phonetic erosion". Certainly, it seems that phonetic reduction and the levelling of case markers and the fixing of word order are intrinsically connected, but I would agree with Kohonen (1978:21) that "it is hard to tell which (is) the cause and which the effect in this intricate process".

Vennemann's theory can be seen to have three basic stages:



Stages 1 and 3 are attested in the history of many languages (English for one). But Vennemann has failed to show convincingly that there is any causal relationship between these stages 1 and 3. In view of Koch (1974) and Harris (1975) (and also Traugott 1972, Carlton 1970 and Strang 1970), it certainly seems there are other factors at work. Traugott, for instance, argues for a "cyclical development", whereby the breakdown in the inflectional endings conditions further restrictions on word order, which in turn allows for further levelling of inflections.

Stage 2 is crucial to the model in that it accounts for the results of stage 3 in terms of the conditions set in stage 1. But as we have seen, there are serious doubts about the disambiguating function of the movement of the verb from final to second position. Simply rigid subject - object order would be sufficient, without any change in verb position.

Moreover, the fact that there are languages which have undergone a shift from SXV to SVX still retaining a case system, casts serious doubt on phonetic erosion as the sole motivating force behind such a shift. Russian, Finnish and German are cases in point. Modern Greek is SVX, and still retains 3 of the 4 cases of Ancient Greek, nominative and accusative being distinguished at all times, in masculine and feminine, and both singular and plural. Koch (1974), Miller (1975) and Harris (1975) all give evidence that Latin completed the shift to SVO still retaining the case system.[15]

Vennemann's response to such cases claims that the S-O morphology of these languages is not "dependable", and rather than wait for the complete disappearance of the case markings, they begin to stabilize word order early to take over the functions of the increasingly inadequate case morphology. He gives no indication, however, of how much morphology must disappear to bring about a shift in verb position. Consider Modern German which is described as an SVO language (although dependent clauses still

show verb-final ordering). Earlier records show that the case system has changed only in a few respects. The genitive case has disappeared from a number of functions, which have been gradually taken over by the other cases and the dative final *e* has been dropped. These changes do not suggest anything like a collapse in the German case system. But exactly what indicates such a collapse is difficult to tell, and Vennemann largely ignores this problem. On the question of when speakers are induced to begin organizing their sentences in a VX arrangement, he states only:

> "They (the speakers) will avoid constructions most or all of the time if they run them into difficulties some of the time, and rely on constructions that guarantee success" (1975:296)

Any indication then, of ambiguity is for Vennemann the sign of a breakdown in the case morphology, and sufficient cause, therefore, to induce the beginning of a change in the verb position. But without empirical evidence for the existence of ambiguity, and the degree of ambiguity needed to induce a verb shift, the whole question remains speculative.

And ambiguity is obviously not uncommon in languages. Generally, however, if context is insufficient, the meaning of a sentence can be gained simply from the semantic information of the elements themselves; i.e. to give a trivial example, if the three constituents of a sentence were 'rock', 'John' and 'threw', the meaning would be fairly clear given the semantic considerations of the items. Kohonen (1978:128) in his study of Old English syntax, states that there was no real ambiguity between subject and object in his data "on the basis of the meaning of the constituents, congruence with the verb, selectional rules, or the total pragmatic context". He concludes, "the danger of ambiguity is perhaps exaggerated by Vennemann".(16)

The following is a brief discussion of the two concepts which are crucial to the work of Vennemann (and also Lehmann), and those working within the typological framework in general - the centrality of the verb and verb phrase and noun phrase relatedness.

2.54 The centrality of the verb and noun phrase 'lag'

A claim which is fundamental to the work of both Lehmann and Vennemann is that of the centrality of the verb; i.e. the view that the position

of all sentential elements is directly correlated with the basic verb position:

> "...in a syntactically consistent language all grammatically functional word order relationships can be predicted from the relative order of V and O" (Vennemann 1972:1-2)

> "...as a working principle then we assume that the adoption of a specific verb: object order in a language entails the modification of other syntactic characteristics such as noun: modifier order" (Lehmann 1975:156)

A change in verb position will then facilitate analogical changes in the ordering of other constituents in the direction of greater consistency of type and as would be predicted by the two higher level structural principles outlined above. This may be pleasing in that it appeals to our intuitions that it is somehow the verb which is central to the sentence, but nowhere in the literature has any substantial evidence been given to justify this claim. Lehmann (1972:270) does state that experiments which have been undertaken by psychologists imply that it is verbs rather than nouns which are more definitely based in the language faculty of the brain ("...only the hemisphere with a specialized speech centre can process verbs"), but although this does make more plausible the central status of the verb, this is a far cry from the claim that a change in the verb position (and *only* a change in the verb position) will trigger changes elsewhere. In fact, empirical findings suggest that this may not be the case at all, or it is at least much more complex than this. Miller (1975) reports that Latin innovated a change from postpositions to prepositions long before the verb change from final to second postion. Friedrich (1975) observes the same and other changes in Latin, all of which occurred before the change in verb position. Konneker (1975) examines Italic languages Oscan, Umbrian and also early Latin and concludes that changes in the ordering of relative clause and noun phrase can occur independently of any change in object and verb position. In their rather contentious explanation for word order changes which have occurred in Chinese, Li and Thompson (1974 a and b) argue that in fact residual SOV type in noun phrase patterns triggered a later change to SOV word order in the modern language.

> "We suggest that the presence of OV properties may have had a catalystic effect, inducing the language toward the OV order" (1974b:208)

Cases such as these suggest that either verb phrase and noun phrase patterns are *not* implicationally related, or that the relationship is,

in fact, a symmetrical one, such that a change in one construction type can bring about change in the other. Nowhere in the literature is this second possibility given any consideration. All emphasis has been given to the *initial* movement of the verb.

Canale (1976) takes up this question of noun phrase verb phrase relatedness, and examines the word order patterns in one Old English text, the 'Parker Manuscript'. His findings show that according to typological criteria, Old English, at least as represented by the Parker Manuscript, had noun phrase patterns consistent with OV type (i.e. modifier:noun) and verb phrase patterns consistent with VO type (although OV word order can be found in dependent clauses). His statistical analysis shows the noun phrase and verb phrase patterns to have moved in opposite directions with regard to type, at least assuming the reconstruction for Proto-Germanic to be OV order in the verb phrase and noun:modifier in the noun phrase. It is here that the notion of noun phrase 'lag' becomes crucial. There may be, it seems, considerable 'lag' between the initial changes in the verb phrase and later 'harmonic' changes in the noun phrase arrangement. In fact, changes in the verb phrase may be so far in advance of those in the noun phrase, that the verb phrase may change directions again before the first change is complete in the noun phrase. Li and Thompson (1974 a and b) report two changes in verb position to have occurred in Chinese since Archaic Chinese (i.e. SOV - SVO - SOV) during which time the ordering of elements within the noun phrase has remained almost fixed. This entails a 'lag' of 4 to 5 millennia!

Obviously the notion of 'lag' is totally unfalsifiable. Until it is constrained and the factors isolated which influence the time length of 'lag' (and we have already discussed in section 2.41 above the potential of functional and perceptual accounts in this regard), then the explanatory power of typological consistency remains severely limited. But even those cases which support the idea of noun phrase 'lag' (the Romance languages, for example, show noun:adjective order to have come only after the stabilization of VO order) are unconvincing until it can be shown what the nature of the relationship is, if indeed one exists at all, between the noun phrase and the verb phrase (Canale's evidence, for instance, suggests there to be no relationship at all). Attempts at this

so far have proved inconclusive. Hawkins (1979, 1980) represents one such attempt. The following is a brief discussion of his work.

2.55 Hawkins' contribution

Basically, Hawkins on the basis of Greenberg's original work, attempts to establish a set of typological universals which are absolute. As is the case with Greenberg's original universals, Hawkins' universals are also unidirectional. They also differ from Vennemann's and Lehmann's universals (and also some of Greenberg's) by the fact that they are not correlations between only two word order parameters, but rather rely on the implicational relationship between three or more parameters. For example, the first two implicational universals he gives are -

1. If a language has SOV word order, and if the adjective precedes the noun, then the genitive precedes the noun; i.e.

   SOV ⊃ (ADJ + N ⊃ GEN + N)

2. If a language has VSO word order, and if the adjective follows the noun, then the genitive follows the noun, i.e.

   VSO ⊃ (N + ADJ ⊃ N + GEN)

Note that Hawkins uses only SOV and VSO as predictors of other word order patterns. As he says, "nothing correlates with SVO in a unique and principled way" (1979:642).

He proposes the following four hypotheses which prescribe the way in which word order changes may take place.

The Universal Consistency Hypothesis (UCH) states that languages will change without violating his synchronic implicational universals.

The Doubling Acquisition Hypothesis (DAH) predicts the timing of a change with respect to one other in a language; i.e. given the synchronic universal - 'if P then Q' - a language with -P and -Q may only acquire P features either *after* those of Q or *simultaneously* with them, but *not before* (thus avoiding *P and -Q; that is, innovating P structures, without Q).

The Frequency Increase Hypothesis (FIH) states that in the acquisition of P features, if P increases in frequency then so must those Q features implied by P (Q features can, though, increase in frequency without P doing so).

Hawkins rejects Vennemann's and Lehmann's proposal for word order change, firstly, because it assumes the necessary violation of the implicational universals to act as a trigger for further changes as the language moves towards consistency. "Violation is their very cornerstone, and hence must ALWAYS occur" (p.641). The internal inconsistency of their theory, as pointed out by Hawkins (and Comrie 1981: Chapter 10), is that the implicational universals must be weak enough to allow this initial violation (i.e. allow *P and -Q), but at the same time must be strong enough to require the total restructuring of the language if it is to return to consistency. Apart from these theoretical objections, Hawkins offers empirical support. His examination of early Indo-European languages reveals that no violation of the six implicational universals which he draws from Greenberg's appendix ever occurred; i.e. the diachronic facts are consistent with the synchronic facts (which is what you would expect if they are, in fact, absolute as Hawkins claims). On this evidence he invokes his UCH.

> "Evidently, impossible word order co-occurrence types, on current synchronic evidence, are also impossible in diachrony. And whatever subsequent word order changes these IE languages underwent are NOT attributable to the reintroduction of universal consistency, because there was no violation to begin with" (p.633)
>
> "Evidently, languages will change historically only within the parameters of synchronically attested variation types" (p.634)

His second two hypotheses DAH and FIH predict the innovation of new minor word order patterns in a way that does not allow for the violation of any of the universals.

Since Vennemann's and Lehmann's trigger-chain theory is rejected, Hawkins is left with a problem - how and why do languages change if it not in response to some initial violation? Here he invokes his fourth hypothesis - the *Principle of Cross-Category Harmony* (CCH). Hawkins accepts that individual word order changes may take place, for whatever reason (like a change in verb position), but he does not accept the change as a trigger mechanism for other changes to follow suite. But since he cannot, and indeed does not, deny that such an initial change is, in fact, often accompanied by parallel changes within other categories as well (such as noun phrases and adpositional phrases) he is then forced to assume

something like his CCH (which is, in fact, simply a weaker version of Vennemann's "Principle of natural serialization"). By this CCH, "there is a quantifiable preference, across languages, for the ratio of preposed operators within one operand category to generalize to the other operand categories" (p.644-645). Such a principle (as indeed also both principles of Lehmann and Vennemann) is reflected in recent work carried out on the cross-category generalizations central to the $\bar{X}$ convention (cf. Jackendoff 1977 and also Lightfoot 1979:402-403).

> "If there is an independently motivated need for, e.g. the verb to shift position, it is expected that this verb shift will be matched by cross-categorical word order re-adjustments to the extent predicted by CCH in order to simplify the grammar" (p.646)

What, then, does Hawkins offer which is not contained in either Vennemann's or Lehmann's proposals for word order change? For one, he has considerably tightened up the loose implicational statements of both Vennemann and Lehmann. Their initial collapse of languages into two basic types, as has already been discussed, is simply not valid. As Hawkins (1979:642) notes, "SVO is typologically ambivalent", and is not, therefore, a reliable predictor of other word order patterns. In addition to this, a serious weakness in both Vennemann's and Lehmann's schema is that the implicational universals as stated by them vary considerably in strength. The correlation between auxiliary-verb and verb-object order is a very strong one (on the basis of Greenberg's data *all* VO languages had Aux + V order, and ten out of eleven OV languages had V + Aux order). On the other hand, the correlation between adjective-noun and verb-object order is very weak, if indeed any correlation can be said to exist at all. In fact, looking at Greenberg's set of universals, it appears only VSO has any link with adjective-noun order (Universal 17: "With overwhelming more than chance frequency, languages with dominant order VSO have the adjective after the noun"). Greenberg's universals suggest, in fact, that some noun phrase patterns are themselves good predictors of other noun phrase patterns (adpositions can predict genitive ordering and genitive ordering and adjective-noun ordering seem correlated). It is certainly a serious fault and one that seriously weakens Vennemann's and Lehmann's position, that all implicational universals are treated as equivalent in strength, that what are, in fact absolute universals on the basis at least of Greenberg's sample are treated identical to those with very questionable validity.

Hawkins' work is certainly a step in the right direction in terms of refining and constraining the implicational relationships first suggested by Greenberg. And his six implicational universals seem successful at least in defining some of the parameters in which languages can change. But when it comes to actually providing an explanation for change we are none the wiser. For the CCH can do no more than Vennemann's and Lehmann's principles; that is, outline the preferred direction of change, without providing the cause. The initial motivation for change is no less a problem for Hawkins as we have seen than it is for Vennemann and Lehmann. And as will be stressed below when the whole puzzling question of 'explanation' is examined, all universals of language, even those which are, based on the sample, absolute, must only be putative. All await empirical verification from new data as more languages are described. It could well be that Hawkins' so-called absolute universals must be relegated to the status of typological tendency (admittedly they will always remain strong tendencies) by the appearance of counter-evidence from a language not yet considered. Such universals can only ever be significant generalizations (although some will always be more significant than others). Where Vennemann and Lehmann went wrong was in treating them all as equivalent.

Section 2.62 below considers in more detail the application of typological universals and typological drift to the explanation of historical facts in linguistics.

2.6 Explanation in historical linguistics

2.61 Drift - an explanation for change?

> "The concept of *drift* endows the story of language with a meaningful "plot" that plays much the same role as a trend introduced by a historian into the retelling of a sequence of sociopolitical happenings"
>
> (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1975:140-41)

While it is impossible to deny the existence of drift in language (and even its most sceptical critics do not attempt to do so), drift itself has nothing to contribute to language change by way of explanation. As the above quotation implies, it is a useful concept to link together a number of changes, and at the same time it gives them meaning by showing them to be a part of some overall long-term trend.

Certainly Sapir, the originator of the concept, never attempts to ascribe any explanatory role to drift. Quite to the contrary, he intimates that the three drifts crucial to English are, in fact, *consequences* of certain changes such as the transference from clause-initial object *whom* to *who*. For this particular change he offers four causes -

i) the fact that *whom* is felt to belong to the class of invariable interrogative pronouns, rather than the class of personal pronouns which preserved distinct subject and object forms
ii) because of its emphatic nature, it tends towards an invariable form (like interrogatives and adverbs in general)
iii) 'pressure of position' - objects rarely occur in initial position
iv) the phonetic awkwardness of *whom* /hu:m/ before alveolar stops and in 'did' and 'do'

Similarly, although the notion of drift is implicit in Jespersen's account of the change from impersonal to personal expressions in English (cf. Jespersen 1894, 1927), he gives it no explanatory force (cf. discussion in Lightfoot 1979:392).

2.62 Typological drift

> "One wonders, however, whether the trends thus studied would not gain in theoretical significance if they were drawn from some independently motivated "schedule" of *possible* trends, rather than detected separately for each group of languages whose data happen to be within the grasp of a given historian... That is to say, despite the systematizing value of these long-range trends studied within their separate fields, one has the feeling that they will remain marginal to a comprehensive theory of language unless we can formulate a better system of trends" (Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1975:141)

It seems to me that the whole typological approach to drift based upon Greenberg's universals (or rather the universals of those linguists like Vennemann and Lehmann who have benefited from Greenberg's initial groundwork) and the notion 'pure type' represent an attempt to formulate such a 'system of trends'.

Both the work of Lakoff (1972) and Koch (1974), in fact, make appeals to Greenbergian universals to substantiate their notion of drift. Unfortunately both offer rather confused accounts of those changes embodied by the

drift(s) underway in Indo-European. The confusion seems to me to arise from the indecision as to whether drift exists as an explanation in its own right or as a concept requiring explanation.

For Lakoff, as has already been discussed, the drift toward analycity and her inexplicable 'metacondition' are intrinsically connected and provide the explanation for many changes which have taken place in the verbal and nominal systems of Indo-European languages. Unfortunately, the nature of this 'metacondition' is made no less mysterious by her footnote 16, where she suddenly produces Greenberg's universals as evidence that the motivation for these changes can, in fact, be found in the word order shift from SOV to SVO. Thus, she attempts to account for one drift by appealing to another drift, neither of which have any real explanatory force. And it is not at all clear to me, where the message contained in footnote 16 leaves the question of her 'metacondition' as regards its explanatory force.

And Koch's work, despite its promising title, and despite the comprehensive collection of phenomena which is offered, is no more illuminating. Changes which have taken place in English - the levelling of inflections and the breakdown in the case system, the rise of prepositional phrases, periphrastic verb constructions and fixed word order - are all explained simply by showing them to be part of a general drift from SOV to SVO (and the evidence for this she sees in Greenberg's numerous word order correlations; cf. discussion p.73). The explanation for this drift lies in unspecified conditions in the proto-language. But as Harris (1975:58) points out, this hardly constitutes an explanation -

> "...the ascription of the starting point of the process to a date earlier than that generally accepted may be descriptively valid, but can scarcely be called an 'explanation'"

Neither Lakoff nor Koch have been successful in showing drift to have any explanatory or predictive value, nor have they provided any satisfactory initial motivation for the drift. But what about accounts like those of Vennemann, Lehmann and to a certain extent also Hawkins, which appeal to the concept of drift towards typological consistency? Do perhaps these more comprehensive theories have any greater explanatory value? Once more the initial stimulus for the drift is a problem. For both Vennemann and Lehmann it can only ever be a shift in verb position which can trigger typological drift. But as discussed already, despite the questionable validity of this claim, the motivations for the verb shift which they provide (phonetic reduction and language contact respectively) are not

without their problems. But even given the initial trigger for the drift, can all the subsequent changes embodied by the drift be explained simply because they promote typological consistency? Is it valid to view 'pure type' as an ideal or a goal to which all languages can be seen to strive?

But before we attempt to answer any of these questions, it is best to examine first the weaknesses inherent in the synchronic framework on which both Vennemann's and Lehmann's approach is built. Most of the objections have already been raised, but it is useful to summarize them here.

The overall weakness of their approach stems from their over-generalization of Greenberg's universals (as we have already implied, principally in section 2.55). As Comrie (1981:86) notes - "Throughout, Greenberg's statements are very careful and cautious, based meticulously on his sample of languages and other languages from which he had relevant data". It should be pointed out that most of his universals are unidirectional. Given Universal 41, for example, OV order is a good predictor of a case system. It does not follow, however, that a case system can predict in the same way OV order. Greenberg says nothing about the lack of such a system in VO languages (although this is an assumption fundamental to the work of Vennemann especially).

It should also be pointed out that, on the basis of Greenberg's data, the *only* VP pattern which is implicationally related to a NP pattern is that of VSO order. Universal 17 states that "with overwhelmingly more than chance frequency" VSO order predicts the order N + Adj. In addition, a number of Greenberg's word order correlations (as do also those of Hawkins) rely on the implicational relationship between three (or more) parameters (Universal 5 and 24, for example).

When Vennemann and Lehmann took over Greenberg's universals, it seems that caution was thrown to the wind. For one, his unidirectional statements were reinterpreted as bidirectional, and not on the basis of any further data. Hawkins' more recent work represents an attempt to return to the unidirectional character of Greenberg's original statements. In addition, their collapse of Greenberg's three language types into two all-encompassing categories VO and OV is not justified. For one, as already discussed, the subject can no longer be accommodated. Secondly, as Hawkins was quick to point out, SVO is not a reliable predictor of the

ordering found in other word order patterns. The inclusion of SVO now with VSO and VOS types is methodologically unsound, and has the effect of severely weakening many of Greenberg's initially strong correlations. On the basis of his sample of data, there were no exceptional cases to Universal 17, for example (the few rare exceptions came from languages outside his sample, and for that reason Greenberg described it as a "near-universal"). As discussed earlier, however, Vennemann's and Lehmann's re-interpretation of Universal 17 results in a very weak correlation between N/Adj order and V/O order (only five out of nineteen cases of VO type have N + Adj order, while six out of eleven cases of OV type have Adj + N order).

Both Vennemann and Lehmann attempt to justify their statements on the basis of two higher level structural principles (the 'principle of natural serialization' and the 'structural principle of language' respectively). While they are significant generalizations of word order correlations (and perhaps help us to understand why languages prefer to conform typologically), we have seen that ultimately they are both entirely dependent on the notion of 'pure type'. When the syntactic facts of a given language are inconsistent with 'pure type', neither structural principles can apply and they must ultimately also appeal to the ad hoc notion of 'lag'; i.e. they suffer the same weaknesses and add nothing to the potential explanatory value of the word order correlations. They do not discriminate between weak and strong correlations, and they support what is a very dubious relationship between noun phrase and verb phrase patterns. Nowhere is the notion entertained that some noun phrase patterns (like adposition and genitive order) might be better predictors of certain word order patterns. Everything is correlated to the relative ordering of the verb and its object. As Comrie (1981:93) neatly sums up - "Vennemann (and this would also apply to Lehmann, KB) presents us with a schema that is conceptually very simple and very elegant; however, in order to establish this schema, certain liberties have to be taken with the data ... Greenberg's approach, on the other hand, is truer to the data, but ends up with a series of specific universals that do not fit together as a coherent conceptual whole".

The question can now be asked - what contribution, if any, can Vennemann's and Lehmann's schema offer towards an explanatory theory of change?

Criticism of their whole teleological approach to language change is vast (cf. Watkins 1976, Jeffers 1976, Lightfoot 1978, 1979; Smith 1981 and Harris 1982a).

> "Where the facts of the given language are clearly inconsistent with one or another ideal type, Lehmann (and of course others, KB) assumes that the language is 'in transition'; and upon this a superficial 'explanatory' teleological theory of syntactic change is built - as though all living languages were not by definition in transition from one stage to another stage. Nor does the theory in any way "explain" why some languages undergo these apparently radical changes in syntactic type over a thousand years, while others (like Turkic or Japanese) apparently do not"
> (Watkins 1976:306)

> "...positing a typological shift does not constitute an explanation for the various changes" (Lightfoot 1979:391)

Critics are quick to point out that as statistical laws Greenbergian type 'universals' are non-absolute and for that reason will remain explanatory inadequate. As they stand, these 'universals' can only ever express statements of likelihood, or tendency. They do not meet the requirements of a 'law' and only a law can explain. Sanders (1975:392), for example, defines a law as "a true synthetic universal statement that is exceptionless and non-accidental", and states further that "for a law to explain anything, it must of course be true".

Syntactic near-universals are clearly different, then, from say Newton's Law, in that they are statistical or probablistic 'laws' which hold true only X% of the time. It is this fact which has caused many to condemn them, and especially those theories of change which draw heavily from them.[17] Without a set of laws a theory can not explain, and can not predict. There is, therefore, no theory. This most extreme position is held by Lass (1980). Lass claims that the method of explanation which prevails for all scientific theory (implying, at the same time, that this is the *only* real means of explanation), that is the deductive-nomological paradigm, does not apply to historical linguistics. At their best, linguistic 'explanations' of any sort are probablistic and are therefore "non-explanatory" (p.20-22). Lass concludes pessimistically that "linguistic change should in principle be no more predictable than change in art styles" (p.132).

Despite the pessimism of people like Lass, the search for linguistic explanations continues, and interest in Greenberg's 'universals' has far

from died. Nonetheless, recent attempts at establishing exceptionless universals remain unconvincing. Even with respect to Hawkins' so-called absolute universals, one has the feeling that it is only a matter of time before exceptional cases turn up and they are assigned the less impressive title of 'statistical universal'. Why is it, then, that the search for absolute universals is so ill-fated? As I see it, there are at least five reasons.

1. Firstly, there is the very simple fact that exceptions are evidence of change. Typological inconsistency allows for a dynamic model of change. And there lies a paradox. Whilst we require laws to be absolute if they are to have any real explanatory power (in fact, by some definitions if they are to be considered laws at all), the sheer nature of language (i.e. that it is in a constant state of change) and the sheer nature of the change (that it is neither uniform nor instantaneous in actuation; cf. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1975) militate against the existence of such laws in language. In short, typology can not win here. In the existence of typological inconsistency lies both the *strengths* and the *weaknesses* of the theory.(18)
2. This second point has to do with what Lass (1980:61) refers to as "the indeterministic element introduced by the fact that language is spoken by human beings in society" or to what Harris (1982b: 8-9) refers to as "the cultural dimension" - "... the fact that language is acquired and used by human beings in a cultural setting". And as Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1975:188) state - "change involves variability and heterogeneity". This fact; namely, that there is such a complex interaction of factors both psychological and social involved, also militates against the existence of laws which are true 100% of the time.(19) And the only way of trying to overcome these factors is to ignore them completely and adopt the unrealistic model of language as a homogenous entity. Any theory built on this premise will have little to contribute to the study of language change. But even then it is impossible to ignore the element of chance and the occurrence of "wholly unpredictable change" (at least, as Harris 1982b:9 points out, "unpredictable" in terms of our present knowledge) which arises from the simple fact of language as "a cultural artefact" (cf. also Lass 1980:135).

3. This third point has to do with the sometimes destructive nature of phonological change. Although a sound change may itself be explicable, its effect on the morphological and syntactic systems of languages need not be. As Harris (1982b:7) describes it - "unpredictable in incidence and blind in its operation", it can at times completely disrupt typological consistency. In short, sound change is aptly described by Harris as "a kind of linguistic 'wild card'".(20)
4. This fourth point has to do with what Lass (1980:39) describes as the "multiple strategy problem". We have already touched upon this problem in section 2.3 with respect to Lightfoot's Transparency Principle. The Transparency Principle can predict a change will occur (i.e. to overcome the offending opacity) but can not predict which of a number of potential changes (i.e. a number of possible solutions to the opacity problem) will take place in the end. The fact that these different solutions are available increases the indeterminate nature of language change.
5. This fifth point is probably more correctly a subset of (2) above in that it has to do with an additional external factor which may also disrupt the total predictability of change. I refer here to the haphazard workings of linguistic borrowing.

The above five interlocking factors all work against the possibility of there ever existing exceptionless, lawlike syntactic universals. Any attempt at finding such universals is doomed from the start (this is by no means to condemn the work of people like Hawkins, however - as shall be discussed more below, much work is needed in refining and constraining the word order correlations of Vennemann and others).(21)

In this respect I am, in fact, on the side of Lass - there can be no such thing as linguistic laws. It seems then that in linguistics, as in "other irregular sciences" (Scriven 1959) it is only ever valid to talk of rules, never laws. Rules unlike laws can be randomly broken without being invalidated. Rules allow for the unpredictable and inexplicable element in language and language change as brought about by factors 1 - 5. This is, in fact, what Ebert (1976:xiii) implies when he states -

> "...there are factors which cause errors when the available regularities are applied to individual cases, because they lie outside our range of observation and are not predictable by reference to any factors within this range (cf. the 'freedom of the will' cited by the idealist philosophers of history)"

Does this mean, then, that we have no choice but to adopt the extreme pessimism of Lass and follow the sort of "aimless non-directionality" which Lass ascribes to historical linguistics in general? And where does this leave, then, typological universals? The fact that certain word order patterns seem compatible, and that languages seem to motivate changes favouring such patterns can not be denied, and indeed even the strongest critics of the typological approach do not attempt to do so. We have, then, at our disposal a set of interesting typological tendencies which we do not want to assume are simply the result of an "overwhelming series of coincidences" (Lakoff 1972:192), nor is it realistic to attribute them entirely to language contact as Smith (1981:51) does ("consistency, where it exists, must be explained by external factors"). Even Lightfoot (1979:396) admits that they are "of enormous importance for a theory of grammar" and that they provide the "empirical foundation" to a possible theory of language change. But if they have no explanatory power, what can this intuitively very interesting set of near-universals possibly contribute to a theory of change?

Harris (1982b) shows that it is possible to adopt a middle standpoint between "excessive optimism" on the one hand, and the "excessive pessimism" of people like Lass on the other. Harris (p.12) points out that it is extremely important to "distinguish explanations *how* from explanations *why*" (cf. also Harris 1982a); that is, explanations which provide the predicted direction or 'avenues' of change as opposed to the motivation for change. Although a crucial one, this distinction is not often made clear in the literature, and results in much of the confusion surrounding the concept of explanation in linguistics. Typological explanations (à la Vennemann, Lehmann and others) can not answer the question *why*? They can never provide the motivating force for the change. What typological 'universals' can provide for us, however, as Harris (1982a) points out is the preferred direction of change - what Kurylowicz describes as preferred "gutters for change", what Harris (1982a and b) refers to as "explanations *how*", what Lass (1980:161) more sceptically prefers to call "the fuzzier insight" and what here we have called the "avenues of change". Harris (1982a:17) sums it up neatly -

> "As far as consistency is concerned, it is clear that the general tendencies - statistical universals - outlined by Greenberg and exploited by many of us since, do throw

> considerable light on the ways in which languages change; they do not, however, *prescribe* a particular change, nor, in general are they to be seen as causing or explaining change"

Typological 'universals' can, then, show us what is *likely* to change into what, and what is an *unlikely* change. To draw upon Givón's useful analogy (1977:187) - if a particular change can be described as a *journey* undertaken, the typological shift could logically be seen as the *driver*. What is missing, however, is the *vehicle* and the *reason* for the journey; that is the mechanism and the motivation for the change. Typology can provide neither of these.

In summary then, languages do tend towards typological consistency and change can be seen largely as a response to this desire to conform. It is for this reason that change tends to occur along what are for the most part predictable pathways towards consistency. In no way, however, can we attribute any causal role to this fact. Typological drift towards consistency has no explanatory force in it *per se*, just as we argued Sapir's psychological drifts do not.(22) In providing us these "insights" into syntactic change, typological drift fulfils the requirements of a theory of change in its weaker form, as outlined by Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1975:99-100). For reasons (1-5) described above, however, linguistic change will never be totally predictable. The interaction of social, psychological, perceptual, contextual, internal structural and geographical factors, for example, can bring about, accelerate, retard and even reverse changes constituting a typological shift. What remains, then, to be further investigated are the mechanisms and initial motivations of change (what, for instance, is it that can trigger a language to move down a totally different path?).(23) Here, as we shall see from the changes Dutch has undergone "the factors involved are often far more numerous than is commonly realized" (Aitchison 1979:63).

Finally, let me briefly consider the notion of 'pure type'. Lightfoot (1979:396) criticises it unjustly when he writes -

> "In particular the notion of a typologically consistent language has been made so demanding that very few, if any, languages fulfil all the requirements. Consequently the empirical interest of the concept diminishes"

Lightfoot's criticism stems from a misunderstanding of the concept of 'types'. 'Pure type' is simply a theoretical notion, an abstracted norm

or ideal, against which we are able to describe and evaluate all languages. And while we might predict languages to innovate in the direction of greater consistency, we certainly do not expect them to ever reach the complete consistency demanded by a 'pure type'. A language which is consistent in type (Turkish and Japanese, for example have traditionally been labelled consistent SOV languages) can be viewed as an accident. And this is true of the concept of types in any discipline. In psychology, for instance, a person is not expected to conform totally to a particular type, but can manifest characteristics of a number of different types.(24) Once more this sort of confusion here arises when people try to impute some sort of causal role to typological inconsistency or 'pure type'. 'Pure type' should only ever be thought of as a convenient yardstick in the description of languages.

What remains, then, is the refinement and further clarification of Vennemann's and Lehmann's overgeneralizations of Greenberg's statements. In this respect, Hawkins' work is a step in the right direction. We need to know more about what triggers a typological shift. We must look at the factors which may contribute to inconsistency and opposite trends in change. Why, for example, should all the Germanic languages show different rates of drift? The 'transition' or 'lag' argument as it stands leaves too many questions unanswered. It is too unconstrained, and therefore detracts from the overall predictive value of typological 'universals'. It is too easy to explain away any typological inconvience by appealing to some vague notion of 'lag'. Until the internal or external factors controlling 'lag' can be isolated which would indicate the sort of time span involved, then the 'transition' argument remains simply unfalsifiable. We need to know more about the relatedness between noun phrase patterns and verb phrase patterns. Is there a symmetrical relationship or no relationship at all? And the chronology of changes needs investigation. Is there a hierarchy with respect to the order in which the changes take place? Must a change in verb position precede all others? The direction of the change needs to be investigated - is it undirectional , SOV to SVO? As yet we can not say with any accuracy when changes are likely to occur, the order in which they occur and why some languages complete a shift relatively quickly, while others maintain ambivalent word order over long periods of time (the "actuation riddle"; cf. Weinreich, Labov and Herzog 1975). As Harris (1982a:18)

writes - "...we must...constrain as far as possible the operation of the principle (i.e. typological consistency) in question".(25)

I have obviously dwelled much longer on typology and the implications of typological 'universals' for a theory of change, than I have on any other theoretical approach. This should not be surprising, considering the central position typology has attained within historical syntax, especially historical word order - hence Watkins' (1976:305) complaint that "syntax is now viewed as coterminous with word order, and word order is reduced to the implicational consistency of the relative ordering of dyads". But whatever criticism, just or otherwise, is aimed at recent work carried out in this framework, it can not be denied that the pioneering work of Greenberg and the subsequent theories of linguists like Vennemann and Lehmann have provided the necessary basis, which hitherto had not existed, for the description and evaluation of syntactic change in languages, and consequently has encouraged a number of studies in the field. And all this has obviously considerably added to and refined the original position. It remains to be seen now how the developments in Dutch syntax can be accommodated within this schema.

Before concluding this section there is, however, one other typological approach to be considered; namely, the subject-topic typology of Li and Thompson.

2.7 Subject-topic typology

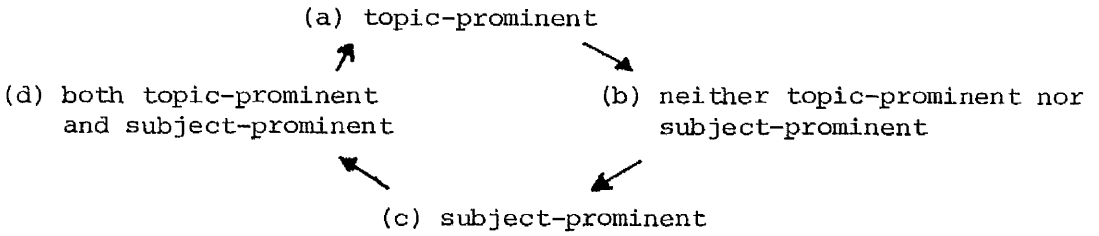
Li and Thompson (1976) make an important contribution to the field of language and typology. Along a continuum, they propose four basic types of languages - (1) subject-prominent (Indo-European and Niger-Congo languages, for example); (2) topic-prominent (Chinese and some Lolo-Burmese languages); (3) neither topic-prominent nor subject-prominent (Tagalog and Ilocano); (4) both topic-prominent and subject-prominent (Japanese and Korean).

Basically, the notion 'topic' is seen by Li and Thompson very much as it is here (cf. discussion Chapters 4 and 6); namely, as a discourse-oriented notion. Subject, on the other hand, is a part of the internal structure of the sentence. It is always an argument of the verb, has a selectional relation with the verb and is involved in a number of

grammatical processes (such as passivization), which topics characteristically are not. Accordingly, the following are the seven characteristics in brief which Li and Thompson posit for topic-prominent languages.

i) surface-coding of the topic, but not necessarily of the subject.
ii) marginal use, if at all, of the passive construction.
iii) marginal use, if at all, of 'dummy' subjects.
iv) 'double-subject' constructions.
v) control by topics rather than subjects of coreferential deletion between clauses.
vi) typically verb-final structure.
vii) no constraints on what may appear as topics.

Thus, they provide a useful framework in which languages can be compared and described, particularly topic-prominent languages which hitherto could not be accommodated into any descriptive framework. Their schema also has diachronic application as the following diagram illustrates:



The development from topic-prominence to subject-prominence takes place via the grammaticalization of topics as subjects, a not uncontroversial notion, but one that is believed by many on the basis that the subject is the primary candidate for topic (cf. principally Vennemann 1973a, 1974, Givón 1976a and b and Stockwell 1977). The transition stages, neither topic-prominent nor subject-prominent and both topic-prominent and subject-prominent are rather too sketchily described in their discussion. The difference between the two is not entirely clear to me. There is, though, ample evidence for such a development from topic- to subject-prominence. Lehmann (1976), for example, in the same volume, offers an argument for Proto-Indo-European as a topic-prominent language with a subsequent development in the daughter languages representing a move towards subject-prominence. In fact, it will be argued here (Chapter 6) that Dutch in its early stages has characteristics of both topic- and

subject-prominence and that its history represents a development towards greater subject-prominence. Evidence from Indo-European, in fact, does suggest a movement from topic- to subject-prominence via stage (d) rather than stage (b); i.e. via a period of both topic- and subject-prominence (Munro (1979), in a review article, also suggests this may be the case in her footnote 3).

It should be pointed out finally that both Li and Thompson here (and in their accounts of Chinese word order (1974a and b)) believe that a word order change need not take place via the direct reorganization of sentence elements. Rather they argue that simple sentences in the new word order "arise from complex sentences as a result of morphological change or lexical change" (1974a:209)

> "The direct reorganization of constituents in simple sentences conceived as a mechanism of word order change represents an abrupt and traumatic syntactic change. It leaves no room for gradual shift which is characteristic of any major syntactic change" (ibid.)

To see how the reanalysis of complex sentences takes place let us then examine their treatment of Chinese.
Pre-Archaic Chinese (pre-12th century BC) is reconstructed as SOV. The syntax began shifting towards SVO and in the Archaic period (3rd-10th century BC) the order of major elements was SVO (although OV syntax was preserved in the noun phrase). The shift was not completed, however, and Mandarin began moving back towards SOV structure.

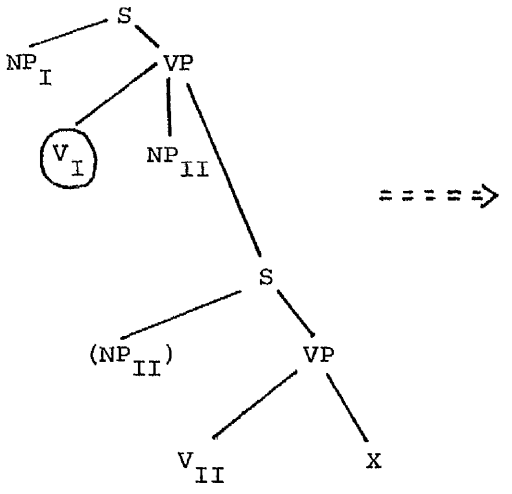
The reanalysis of complex sentences into simple sentences with the new word order takes place via the reinterpretation of serial verb constructions as prepositional phrases. The process can be diagrammed as the following:

ARCHAIC CHINESE	MANDARIN
SERIALIZED VERB PHRASES	NON-SERIALIZING
SVOV	S PREPOSITION OV

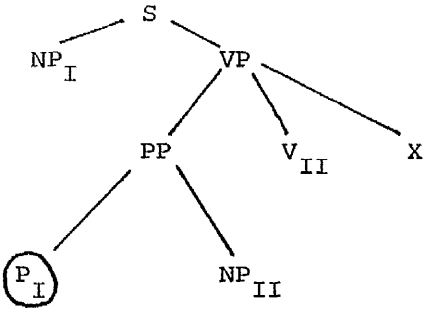
1. The first verb in the series is reanalysed as a prepositional case marker; e.g.
   active verb marker *bǎ* (formerly the verb 'to take')
   passive marker *bèi* (formerly the verb 'to receive')
2. The object noun phrase following the former initial verb of the

series now precedes the main verb; i.e. completing the shift to SOV structure.

SERIALIZING SVO
Archaic Chinese



NON-SERIALIZING SOV
Mandarin



(diagram taken from Givón 1975:82)

The process in modern Chinese is by no means complete, which, for the sake of simplicity, is the impression given above. In actual fact the situation is extremely complex in both Chinese and in parallel cases in some Niger-Congo languages (as argued by Givón:1975). The reanalysis of verbs as prepositions is obviously a gradual process and modern Chinese grammar reflects this; both serializing and non-serializing constructions can be found. Lord (1973) also discusses the reanalysis of serial verb constructions as case marking constructions in the Kwa languages. If Li and Thompson's, Lord's and Givón's account are correct, then it would seem that a word order change can come about as a result of the development of complex sentences into simple sentences.[26] Nonetheless, the following claim by Li and Thompson (1974a:201) does seem somewhat exaggerated:

> "The essential pathway of word order change is the collapsing of complex sentences into simple sentences with a new word order"

2.8 Summary

The above sections were meant only as brief sketches of a number of different (but by no means mutually exclusive) contributions which have been made to the field of syntactic, or more specifically, word order change. Whilst they were divided here into four major approaches,

external (i.e. language contact), transformational, functional and typological respectively, it should have been clear that they overlap on a number of occasions. Vennemann's essentially typological approach makes very definite appeals to functionalism by virtue of the "principle of ambiguity avoidance". Similarly, Lightfoot's transformational account of change is based also on a functional principle; namely, the "Transparancy Principle". Hyman's typological account of word order change in Niger-Congo languages attributes the initial motivation for change to a pragmatic trigger; namely the postposing of "afterthought" material. Li and Thompson's typological account of word order change in Chinese, as well as their overall subject-topic typological schema, appeal to grammatical triggers; namely, the collapse of complex sentences into simple ones (rather than direct reorganization of elements in the simple sentences). Vennemann accounts for the fact that change begins in main clauses and then only under analogy spreads to dependent clauses in terms of pragmatic considerations. The verb shift is understood as being in response to a topicalization problem, and topicalization plays a much greater role in main clauses than it does in dependent clauses. Lightfoot (1978,1979) accounts for the same facts by appealing to Emonds' "Structure-Preserving Constraint": structure-changing (root) transformations affect independent clauses before they spread to other types of clauses (both these standpoints will be discussed in Chapter 5).

It remains now to test these various hypotheses against the Dutch data analysed here, to see which, if indeed any, of the theories are supported.

FOOTNOTES

1. It is generally assumed, however, that detachable items (such as items of vocabulary) which do not affect the borrowing language structurally are more easily borrowed. Syntactic borrowing assumes a higher degree of bilingualism between speakers of the donor and the borrowing language. For discussions on borrowing cf. Weinreich 1953; Anttila 1972:Chapter 8; Bynon 1977:Chapter 6; Moravcsik 1978 and Aitchison 1981: Chapter 3.

2. A parallel case in the present-day can be found in the speech of the German speaking migrant population in Victoria, Australia (cf. Clyne's study 1972:64-70). One type of syntactic modification in their language is the addition of new information (adverbials, prepositional phrases, for example) after the final position of the verb in subordinate clauses, and of infinitives, separable prefixes and past participles in main clauses. In Germany, however, such constructions are also more and more frequently used. Vennemann (1973b), for example states:

> "As a matter of fact, there are strong tendencies in Modern Colloquial German to use main clause word order in subordinate clauses; constructions such as the following are quite normal at least among young speakers: *Ich konnte nicht kommen, weil ich hatte Kopfschmerzen*"
> (p.5)

It is, therefore, difficult to determine the degree of influence of English on the speech of these German migrants, whether, for example, they relax the verb-final constraint in subordinate clauses any more than German speakers in German speaking areas (where English influence could conceivably be a factor also). Once again, all one can say is that the changes in word order are accelerated rather than caused by contact with English.

3. The idea that children were the main instigators of change was a popular theory held at the end of the 19th century.

> "The chief cause of sound changes lies in the transmission of sounds to new individuals" (Paul 1880)

> "All the major changes in pronunciation that we have been able to investigate originate in child speech"
> (Passy 1891)

> "If languages were learnt perfectly by the children of each generation, then languages would not change... The changes in languages are simply slight mistakes, which in the course of generations completely alter the character of the language" (Sweet 1899)

The above quotations come from the discussions in King (1969) and Aitchison (1981).

4. Sapir (1921) discussed changes like the replacement of 'whom' with 'who' as being part of general 'drifts' occurring in English (cf. section 2.4 of this present chapter). He proposed four causes for this particular change, one of which had to do with the fact that objects were rarely found in sentence initial position. Similarly, Fries (1940) maintained a rule was introduced into Modern English whereby the noun phrase preceding the verb could only be in subject function; hence, *hem nedede no help* ⟶ *they needed no help*. Older dative *hem* yields to nominative *they*, and the former sentence subject *no help* becomes an object "under pressure of position" (cf. later discussion of the disappearance of impersonal expressions, Chapter 6). Similarly, in the passive construction involving indirect objects, the older dative is replaced by the nominative and the indirect object is reinterpreted as the subject; *me waes gegiefan an boc* ⟶ *I was given a book.*

5. The early works of Traugott, in fact, imply restructuring in the base as a type of syntactic change, although she does not state this explicitly. In 1965, for example, she unwittingly argues for a restructuring of the phrase structure rules in the development from Old to Middle English. In 1969, however, she definitely argues against such a base reanalysis in Old English (cf. discussion Canale 1978:33-35).

6. A number of linguists maintain that there is, in fact, no such thing as a "pure syntactic change" (cf. Anttila 1972; Traugott 1972 and especially Stockwell 1977, as discussed in Lightfoot 1977:199). Although Lightfoot argues for the existence of syntactic changes without phonetic or semantic causes, he does not of course, as he himself points out, deny that phonological and semantic factors can create "opacity which may be eliminated in turn by a syntactic change" (1977:199).

7. There are, of course, a number of languages which violate these word order relationships. Persian is a case in point. It is an OV language with prepositions and postposed attributives. The Persian example seems to imply that there is an implicational relationship between adpositioning and the placement of attributives but that neither are correlated to the verb order. In fact, as the discussion in section 2.5 points out, that there exists any relationship at all between verb phrase patterns and noun phrase patterns is very dubious. More certain is the existence of implicational relationships between individual noun phrase patterns themselves, and likewise individual verb phrase patterns.

8. Cf. Greule (1982) and Herbst, Heath and Dederding (1979:Chapter 6) for discussion of dependency grammar. There are also a number of similarities between valency-based grammars and Fillmorian case grammar (Fillmore 1968, 1977) and the notion of "case frame".

9. A consistent VO language, for example, would have the following patterns (OV patterns, of course, the opposite ordering)

VO

Verb - Object
Inflected auxiliary - Main verb
Modal - Main verb
Verb - Adverb
Preposition - Noun
Noun - Demonstrative
Noun - Genitive
Noun - Numeral
Noun - Relative clause
Noun - Descriptive adjective
Noun - Adverbial attribute
Comparative adjective - Standard of comparison

10. Greenberg's Universal 41 states that "if in a language the verb follows both the nominal subject and nominal object as the dominant order, the language almost always has a case system" (Greenberg 1966:96). Note that Greenberg makes no claim implying the lack of such a system in SVO languages, as Vennemann's proposal must assume. In fact, as we shall see, many modern Indo-European

languages have completed a shift to VO structure still retaining the nominative-accusative distinction in their case marking. The existence of these languages seriously calls into question the validity of Vennemann's proposal for change.

11. All Vennemann says of the connection between syntactic order and morphology (i.e. agglutinative, flectional and isolating types, as first proposed in the 19th century by Friedrich von Schlegel) is in the following statement:

> "I mention finally that the theory of word order change as developed so far seems to provide substance to, and reasons for, the ancient view that languages develop back and forth, or cyclically, among language types, both the morphologically-based types (agglutinating, flectional, isolating, etc.) and the word order types"
> (Vennemann 1974:371)

12. As Tai (1976) has since shown convincingly the word order change in Chinese to be due to external influence from the northern Altaic languages, and all the word order findings so far recorded reveal changes from SXV to SVX, Vennemann's first proposal of change as unidirectional should perhaps be reconsidered.

13. The notions 'theme', 'topic' and 'old information' (and 'rheme', 'comment' and 'new information') are clearly not coterminous. The topic-comment distinction does not correlate exactly with the old information-new information distinction (cf. discussion Chapter 4). Topicalization and focusing are also distinct processes, although they clearly overlap. Focusing, for instance, does not necessarily imply movement to the front. Nonetheless, these differences are not crucial to Vennemann's argument here. What is at stake is the potential ambiguity which arises during processes like topicalization and focusing in an SXV language with an unreliable case system.

14. Hyman (1975:118) raises an interesting point here; namely, that if word order does serve a disambiguating function, as Vennemann maintains, then languages should exist where unambiguous sentences are left as they are, but ambiguous sentences are modified to SVO order - "..we should have "mixed" syntaxes where the occurrence of SVO rather than SOV is dictated by considerations of avoiding ambiguity".

15. Canale (1976:56) also argues that the case endings and verb inflections are attested in all Old English texts which show already a verb-second order (although verb-final is still found in dependent clauses - cf. also Kohonen 1978 for details of Old English word order). We can not, of course, ever be sure that, although these early languages reflect a fully functional case system in the documents available to us today, this was actually the case in the spoken language of that time. It is perhaps more probable that a change in verb position in the language would enter the written language more quickly than would the gradual disappearance of case inflections; i.e. there always exists the possibility that the verb did in fact change position after the case morphology began to collapse (as Vennemann would maintain) though written records do not reflect this.

16. Kohonen does, however, note that subjects and objects did seem to favour SVO order in his data, suggesting then that ambiguity factors did in fact play a role, but he stresses they were certainly far from the "most important driving force". He discusses other factors like the "principle of end weight", for example, which played a part in the shift to SVO order in English. These factors will be discussed in full later when the results of the present Dutch data are examined.

17. On a purely theoretical basis, the existence of deviant languages does not necessitate the abandonment of Greenberg's near-universals. Throughout the history of science, laws have been formulated despite the existence of exceptions. Accounting for these exceptions is what a falsificationalist views as progress in science. Ultimately, it is to be hoped, that with the advancement and refinement of methodology and knowledge a new law emerges which accounts for these exceptions. Grimm's Law is a case in point. The large group of exceptions to Grimm's Law which existed were not accounted for until nearly 60 years later when Karl Verner formulated his law in 1875.

18. Hawkins' work does represent an attempt to overcome this paradox, although, as has been discussed, it is not entirely successful.

19. Through the efforts of Labov and followers it is now possible to study the socio-psychological aspects of change and we now have

a much better idea of the relevant factors involved (cf. discussion section 2.12 here). We can no longer ignore these factors. As Weinreich, Labov and Herzog (1975:100) write -

> "Long before predictive theories of language change can be attempted, it will be necessary to learn to see language - from a diachronic *or* synchronic vantage - as an object possessing orderly heterogeneity"

On the same page they condemn current generative grammar, arguing -

> "...that the generative model for the description of language as a homogenous object is itself needlessly unrealistic and represents a backward step from structural theories capable of accommodating the facts of orderly heterogeneity. It seems to us quite pointless to construct a theory of change which accepts as its input unnecessarily idealized and counterfactual descriptions of language states"

20. The workings of analogy, although usually to impose order and regularity on language, can also be totally capricious (point 2 would undoubtedly play a part here). As another potential "linguistic 'wild card'" then, it also works against the total predictability of linguistic change.

21. I am obviously agreeing here with Jakobson (1966) who writes that "statistical uniformities with a probability slightly less than one are no less significant than uniformities with a probability of one" (p.268).

22. Harris (1982b) does not refer specifically to typological consistency but writes in general about a desire of speakers "to organise the material which comprises their language in a maximally regular and economic fashion, a preference which manifests itself in the changes captured by the various generalizations and taxonomies diversely formulated by diachronic linguists of various persuasions for many decades, from 'structural pressure' through 'rule simplification' to 'typological consistency'" (p.4). And he speaks of the predictable paths along which languages tend to move towards the re-establishment of this equilibrium.

23. Even Hawkins' most recent contribution in the form of the 'Cross-Category Principle' will account only for the *preference* of certain changes over others. It has itself no explanatory power.

> "If there is an independently motivated need for, e.g.

> the verb to shift position (once more we are missing the initial motivation for this, KB) it is expected that this verb shift will be matched by cross-categorical word order re-adjustments to the extent predicted by C.C.H. (Cross-Category Harmony) in order to simplify the grammar" (Hawkins 1979:646)

As Harris (1982a) so neatly sums up - "Cross-categorial rules are valued - but not at any price!" (p.17)

24. In fact, Smith (1981:41) implies as much when he writes -

> "...inconsistency is so rife that a number of linguists have proposed that a language which is typologically SOV, for instance, need not have SOV word-order, provided its other characteristics are typical of a consistent SOV language"

And he does concede (attributing the observations to Nigel Vincent) that

> "...if 'SOV' is simply a label used to designate a particular type of language characterized by a number of properties of which only one is the final position of the verb, then the fact that some language fails to have this specific property is of little significance, even if it does happen to have given its name to the type as a whole"

Smith remains sceptical, however, maintaining that it

> "still serves to illustrate the futility of choosing DEFINITIONAL criteria, none of which is necessary, and no specifiable combination of which is sufficient rigorously to demarcate the relevant set"

25. In Chapter 8, where the various theoretical concepts discussed here are tested against the facts of Dutch, I will propose, that there are instances, in fact, where typological consistency can exert pressure for change and for these cases, therefore, can provide an explanation *why*.

26. Bean (1983:37) argues that the reanalysis of serial verbs is insufficient of itself to bring about a change from SVO to SOV. And more concrete evidence for this comes from Tai (1976) who argues convincingly that the change in Chinese did not come about entirely as the result of the grammaticalization process as proposed by Li and Thompson, but rather from contact with the Altaic languages of the north, followed by diffusion southwards.

CHAPTER 3

Methodology

3.1 The problem of sampling

One initial problem in such a study as this is that of selecting an adequate sample, here a quota of clauses, which will represent the characteristic patterning of the language. Too large a sample involves a waste of energy and source material, while too small a sample may yield misleading frequencies of patterns against possible others. What then is the ideal sample size to produce results which are statistically significant? As Kohonen (1978:76) writes, the ideal sample size will depend on certain factors such as the degree of accuracy and precision required and the degree of heterogeneity of the material analysed. The greater the accuracy and precision and the more heterogeneous the material is, so too the greater the sample required. Romaine (1982:112-113) discusses another important factor which is involved; namely, the nature of the feature under consideration. The more language-conditioned a feature is (i.e. independent of considerations such as style), the more random its frequency is likely to be and, therefore, the smaller the sample needed. A study involving phonemes, for example, would require a much smaller sample size than a syntactic study such as this present one. As discussed earlier, aspects of syntax are governed by both linguistic and pragmatic factors and for that reason the sample size would need to be significantly increased. The more or less homogeneous nature of the source material examined here, and the fact that for the greater part of the study only declarative clauses are considered, does help to overcome this problem.

Chapter 7, however, which deals specifically with the development of negation, the problem of choosing an adequate sample size was slightly different because of the nature of the negative construction and because both interrogative and imperative constructions were included. But further discussion of this is provided in the chapter itself.

For the bulk of the study it was decided that, as close as possible, 800 clauses would be chosen from each text, with ideally a more or less equal division between main and subordinate clauses. Of course,

this meant that in some cases the entire text was required for analysis, in others only a portion. Unfortunately, for some of the shorter texts, the ideal quota of clauses was not able to be reached even if the whole text was used. For that reason, it made little sense to choose a fixed number of pages for each text. And despite the general homogeneity of the texts, clauses still differed considerably with respect to the preferred construction types shown, and, therefore, with respect to their relative number of main and subordinate clauses. In addition, there was the added complexity that the early texts showed a characteristic marked lack of subordination. As we shall discuss again below (and later in Chapter 4) the concept of grammatical subordination (or hypotaxis) was still in its early stages in these texts. Consequently, the proportion of main clauses was very much higher, and additional pages of text were required so that as near as possible the quota might be filled. In the 17th century, however, the situation was reversed. Texts of this time were characterized by considerable complexity of construction. Long strings of subordinate clauses were interspersed with only proportionally few main clauses. In Chapter 4, section 4.0 where the exact number of clauses is given for each text, it will be clear that for these reasons the suggested quota of clauses simply could not be filled for certain texts. This difficulty, however, did not seem to detract from the results gained overall.

The reliability of a sample size of 800 clauses was tested here by comparing the results of subject-verb order in both main and subordinate clauses in one text (Brabantish 1350) using the chosen sample size with the results gained from almost doubling the sample size. The differences between the two were only marginal. This lends support to the assumption that the quota of approximately 800 clauses is statistically adequate.[1]

3.2 The question of grammaticality

Linguists working in the field of historical syntax are faced with a problem not present, at least to such an extent, in the other areas of historical linguistics; namely, the problem of making judgements about grammaticality. Without recourse to native speaker intuitions, it is not possible to say with any confidence that a certain construction type is ungrammatical simply because it is not present in the data. This

could be purely an accident of the data. This is not such a problem for phonology. The nature of phonology (cf. earlier discussion to do with sample size) means that less data is needed to draw reliable conclusions about earlier phonological systems. Sounds can be listed, and because of the finiteness of phonological inventories, full descriptions can be gained of lost phonological systems, sometimes on the basis of a very limited corpus. But there will always exist gaps in our knowledge of early syntactic systems. No finite corpus of utterances no matter how large, will provide a full description of the syntax of a language at some earlier stage of its development. This problem is particularly acute for those attempting to construct complete grammars of dead languages, especially the generative grammarian who must account for all possible grammatical sentences and be able to predict instances of ungrammaticality (cf. Allen 1980:40-42).

The problem of knowing what is not a possible construction is perhaps not so crucial in such a study as this. Only one aspect of syntax is of major concern here; namely, the ordering of elements, and the purpose of the study is to draw conclusions about any changes which may have taken place there in the course of the 350 years. Some other aspects of the syntax are considered (the question of left-dislocation and the development of negation, for example), but within the discussion of word order. I maintain that it is possible here to make reliable statements about syntactic facts as these since such a very large corpus is examined and over such a long period of time. If a trend is observed it is unlikely to be due to chance or any idiosyncracies of the texts but rather due to actual developments which have taken place in the language (cf. earlier provisions given to ensure the reliability of source material here). In addition any statement made is strengthened by the fact that two dialects of the language are examined. These dialects show parallel developments but at different rates. This means that any more specific hypothesis made on the basis of observations of one dialect will be tested by what is observed in the second.

This leads us to one important premise which is adopted here; namely, that if a construction is attested in the corpus it must be assumed to be grammatical. It is not possible for a modern reader to make judgements of grammaticality. This of course causes problems when constructions

occur with a very low frequency. As Allen (1980) points out, the possibility of a 'performance error' is here a very real one. This problem arises frequently in this present study when unexpected and unusual word orders occur. Occasionally, the problem can be overcome where more than one manuscript of the same text is available. In this way a scribal error is obvious when the second version by a different scribe is consulted. Certain constructions may occur sporadically and only later gain currency in the texts, in which case we might assume that this represents an innovation in the language (it can also at times reflect the conservatism of the written language with respect to the spread of change). Nonetheless, where a word order pattern in this study stands out as really deviant I have commented upon its appearance and have treated it as, at best, a marked construction. Warner (1982) discusses the possibility of assigning such infrequent constructions marginal grammatical status but points out also the dangers of such a practice. And certainly with respect to Middle Dutch, such deviations away from 'normal' or 'expected' patterns is very much more frequent in the earlier documents. To describe these constructions as simply ungrammatical and attribute them to scribal error would be to overlook a major fact of Middle Dutch word order; namely, the narrowing down over time of possibilities for acceptable alternative word order patterns. As this study will reveal, Middle Dutch word order is characterized by its development towards a more fixed word order system, where the order of elements is dictated by their function within the clause.

3.3 The classification of clauses

This study makes use of a quantitative analysis of the word order patterns found in the data. Clauses are isolated and the word order patterns contained within them are recorded. Those clauses where a finite verb does not appear in the surface structure are not considered. Note that order within the noun phrase is not examined in this study. The word order considered is on every occasion that actually encountered in the texts; i.e. of surface structure. The clauses are classified into the following types.

3.31 Main clauses

Under this category are included simple independent clauses -

1. Men sal oeck opt hooft cloppen met enen lichten stocke
   'One should also strike (on) the head with a light stick'
   (Br. 1350)

- those conjoined main clauses in sequence, but with an expressed subject -

2. Het gheneest scorfde hoefden *ende het verdrijft twilde vier*
   'It cures scabbed heads and it drives away wild fire (an acute condition of the scalp)' (Ho. 1350)

- main clauses upon which subordinate clauses are dependent, such as those involved in a cause-result relationship like the following -

3. Als dat hooft ghewont es, *so seldi proeven* of thersenbecken al doer es
   'If the head is wounded, then you should test whether the cranium is completely split' (Br. 1350)

4. En doet hijs niet, *moet hi amborstich worden ende ouer gichtich*
   'If he does not do this, he will become wheezy and more gouty' (*Circa Instans* 1386)

3.32 Subordinate clauses

Under this category are included all adverbial clauses introduced by subordinating conjunctions expressing causation, purpose, time, location, condition, manner etc... -

5. *Of dat gheluijt ghesont es*, dan es dat hersenbecken ghesont
   'If the noise is healthy, then the cranium is healthy' (Br.1350)

6. Ghi sult hebben menigherhande drielen *nadat hersenbecken dic es of dun*
   'You should have many kinds of drills according to whether (the) cranium is thick or thin' (Br. 1350)

7. Voert soe en sal niet die wachter der ghesonden slapen *als die lichaem vol is, tot dat die spise is neder ghegaen neder*

vander croppe der maghen

'Moreover (then) the observer of good health should not sleep when the body is full, until the food has gone down from the crop of the stomach (Ho. 1300)

- complement clauses introduced by *dat* after verbs like *segghen* 'to say' or noun phrases like *die saeke* 'the fact' (note also that *dat*-clauses can express purpose 'so that'; examples (10) and (11) below) -

8. Ghi sult weten *dat thooft es gedeelt in iii partien*
   'You should know that the head is divided into three parts' (Br. 1350)

9. Ende waer oeck dat sake *dat enich mensche hadde ghenayt alsulke* wonden ... ontnayese ghernighe (spelling!)
   'And if it were the case that any person had sewn up such wounds ... undo them quickly' (Br. 1350)

10. Siedet *dattet dicke si*
    'Boil it so that it is thick' (Ho. 1350)

11. Ende wanneer een warachtich natuurlike appetijt coemt, dan salmen thans eten, *dat die maghe niet vervult en(de) warde mit quaden humoren*
    'And whenever a truly natural appetite comes, then one should eat at once, so that the stomach is not filled with bad humours' (Ho. 1300)

- relative clauses introduced by demonstrative and/or interrogative pronouns (inflected for case and gender although not consistently; cf. description Appendix 1) -

12. In allen anderen quetsinghen *die int hersenbecken siin...*
    'In all other injuries which are in the cranium...' (Br. 1350)

13. *Wie so bestopt is int hoeft...*
    'Whosoever is congested in the head...' (Ho. 1350)

As sentence example (14) illustrates, it is very often impossible to distinguish between main clauses and subject relative clauses introduced by demonstrative pronouns. This problem is discussed more fully in Chapter 4, section 4.2.

14. Ghi selt nemen enen doerslach *die*? *sal goet ende scarp siin*

'One should take a chisel which should be good and sharp'
or -
'One should take a chisel. That should be good and sharp' (Br.1350)

- included here are also those locative and temporal relative clauses introduced by adverbs of place and time, or interrogative forms -

15. Ende ic was te die(n)st in Brabant *daer een leeck meester was*
'And I was employed in Brabant where an uneducated physician was' (Br. 1350)

16. Dese oly heeft sunderlinghe macht ende verdrijft die verhouden coude *waermense smeert*
'This oil has special strength and drives away the hidden cold wherever one smears it' (Ho. 1300)

- included here are also the *daer/waer* compounds which occur frequently in the language -

17. Ende den hamer *daer ghi mede clopt op den doerslach* sal siin...
'And the hammer with which you strike on the chisel should be...' (Br. 1350)

18. Ende op dien steken doen olie rosaet *daer in ghesoden siin pierwormen*
'And on the wound put oil of roses in which earthworms have been boiled' (Br. 1350)

- in the very early texts one can still find remnants of earlier relative clauses where there is no relative connective present -

19. Ende dan seldi nemen een medicine *heet licium in medecinen*
'And then you should take a remedy (which) is called 'licium' (honeysuckle) in medicine' (Br. 1350)

These *contact clauses* as they have been termed (cf. Romaine 1982:72-80 for a discussion of these in English) are clear examples of parataxis; i.e. semantically the relationship between the clauses is one of hypotaxis, but the subordinating relative marker is absent from the second clause. These clauses are relics of an earlier stage in the language where parataxis was more common (cf. discussion section 3.5 below). In Middle Dutch their distribution is fairly restricted. For one, they seem to be confined to a handful of verbs, of which *heten* 'to call' and *wesen*

'to be' are the most common (cf. discussion Chapter 5 where the archaic qualities of these particular verbs are examined). Secondly, they are most common in legal texts, which, as we have already discussed, often preserve constructions long after they have been ousted from regular usage. I might also mention though a similar relative expression where the connective is *ende*. These are more common, but again occur most frequently with the same sort of verbs as the contact clauses.

20. De xiij. de was een *ende hiet Constans*
    'The 13th was one who was called Constans' (Br. 1300)

21. Te namen was oeck een meesterse *ende hiet dame* juliane
    'To name (there) was also a learned lady (who) was called Dame Juliana' (Br. 1350)

3.33 Conjunct clauses

Those clauses conjoined in sequence but without overt subjects are called here conjunct clauses -

22. Want et opent die verstoptheyt der herssen *ende claert dat aensicht*
    'For it opens up the congestion of the brain and clears the sight' (Ho. 1300)

3.4 Additional observations

Here vocatives (such as Meester Thomaes Scellinck's continued address to his readers as *live kinder*) and appositives (*dat es...*) are seen to function outside the sentence and are, therefore, not considered within the word order of the clause. Similarly, coordinating conjunctions, while they clearly influence the word order within the clauses, are themselves not elements of the clause in that they have no real function there. The subordinators, although they have more of a function in the clause (in that they complete the meaning contained there) are nonetheless not considered to fall within the clause structure and are not counted as part of the word order pattern. Principal constituents of the sentence include, then, the subject, the finite verb and non-finite verb forms and the various verbal adjuncts - direct and indirect objects, nominal and adjectival complements, adverbs and

adverbial phrases (note that adverbials are further divided into various semantic categories including time, manner, place, etc..).

There exists no agreement on spelling conventions in the sentence examples quoted here. I have left the forms in the original and have not felt the need to comment upon them, except where a very reduced form may give problems in interpretation. When vowels and consonants have been omitted, I have occasionally supplied them in brackets if the sense is not clear. There are also times when the scribe has obviously slipped and a wrong word has been substituted. In some cases where other versions of the same manuscript are available (as for *Meester Thomaes van Scellinck*, for example) I have supplied the form which makes most sense given the context. But where the manuscripts differ with respect to syntactic considerations, I have not alternated between them, but used only the one version. The translations I have supplied are fairly literal ones, following as closely as possible the syntax of the original Dutch. For particularly difficult sentences, however, I have provided glosses.

The frequency of the various word order patterns is recorded according to the clause type in which they appear. There is no point in describing each word order pattern here. Anyway self-explanatory from the symbols used, it is more appropriate to consider them when the actual findings are discussed in Chapter 4. I should point out, however, that where two like elements (i.e. having an identical grammatical function within the clause) appear in the same position (such as two direct objects before a verb, for example), they are counted as one occurrence of the constituent. Both elements are considered, however, when it comes to counting the length of these constituents and the length of clauses. If they differ with respect to their position in the clause (i.e. if one precedes and one follows the verb) they are treated as split constituents, not as separate patterns (OV) and (VO) as Canale (1978) suggests in his study of Old English word order. This analysis was decided upon here since it captures the practice of splitting 'heavy' noun phrases which is particularly frequent in early Middle Dutch and has important consequences for the consideration of the brace system, or more specifically, the practice of exbraciation.

3.5 Assigning clauses to types

The above procedure is not the straightforward simple matter as may appear from the description, and this is on account of the problems which arise in the classification of clause types. Although this question is taken up in Chapter 4, it is convenient here to make a few preliminary distinctions to clear up what appears to be some confusion surrounding the use of terms like coordination, subordination, parataxis and hypotaxis, which are used to describe the sorts of relations which exist between clauses. These terms appear in the literature sometimes vaguely defined, and often showing important differences in meaning.(2)

3.51 Coordination

Coordination (and here we are referring specifically to the coordination of clauses) involves a combination of two or more equivalent structures; for example, two independent clauses or two dependent clauses, which are shown to be equal in function and status.

3.52 Subordination

Subordination, on the other hand, although also implying the combination of clauses, can only ever involve two clauses which are syntactically non-equivalent. One clause is called the *subordinate clause* and this always forms a part of the clause, a main clause, which is known as the *superordinate clause*.

The distinction coordination versus subordination involves a further distinction; namely, that of *independent* versus *dependent clause*. An independent clause is able to stand as a simple sentence; that is, as one complete and meaningful expression. A dependent clause, on the other hand, when it stands alone is unfinished in meaning and is dependent on another clause if the whole is to constitute a complete grammatical sentence. It is therefore subordinate to this clause (although it may also in turn have structures which are subordinate to it).

One difference between coordination and subordination can be that in the former the ordering of structures is reversible, without any change in meaning. This is true of many coordinate constructions although, as Quirk et al. (1972:552) point out, if a cause-result relation is implicit in the coordinated clauses the order can in no

way be reversed. The example they give is -

"He died and he was buried in the cemetry"

Both coordination and subordination can either involve connecting words or not; *coordinators/coordinating conjunctions* and *subordinating conjunctions* respectively. Of course connectives of this sort are the clearest means of marking the relation between clauses, although other means are available (context, intonation, pause, rhythm etc..). We will have reason to return to these again below. Where the linking of clauses is marked overtly by connectives the term applied to such a construction is *syndesis*. The construction where no connecting word is present is an example of *asyndesis*.

It should be pointed out that the use of adverbials and demonstrative pronouns (or particles) for linking clauses is here not considered to be coordination. Such linking or relational adverbs like *dan* ('then') and *nochtans* ('nevertheless') are very different from other adverbs (manner adverbs, for example, like *haest* 'quickly') and following the classification of Quirk et al. (1972:Chapter 8) these have been termed here *conjuncts*. Definite differences in syntactic behaviour exist between conjuncts and coordinators which can be seen to have an important bearing on the problems raised in the discussion in Chapter 4. These differences will be examined there.
Lockwood's treatment of coordination (Lockwood 1968:Chapter 10) makes no such clear distinction between coordinators and conjuncts which gives a confusing and inaccurate picture of the facts.

Where an independent and a dependent clause are logically connected but without any formal marking (i.e. subordinator), such an asyndetic construction is an example of *parataxis*. Note that here parataxis is not used to describe simply a lack of subordination; for example, strings of main clauses which may or may not involve linking words -

I sat down at the table. There I read my newspaper.
Then Martin came in. He.....

Such constructions should more correctly be termed *asyndetic coordination* of clauses. Here parataxis is understood to imply notional subordination but without any overt marking of it.

Where an independent clause and a dependent clause are logically connected and this *is* indicated formally by the presence of a subordinator,

the construction is an example of *hypotaxis*. We have mentioned that alternative means can be used to signal a hypotactic relation between clauses (context, rhythm etc..). Clearly when written records are the only available source, such information is not accessible. For this reason hypotaxis is taken here to have its defining characteristic the presence of a subordinating marker. Its absence signifies parataxis (or *asyndetic hypotaxis*).

Obviously hypotaxis is grammatically a more complex device than parataxis. In Middle Dutch it frequently involves also what is known as *correlation*. With correlation the notional relationship which exists between two clauses is expressed by corresponding items present in both the clauses. Correlative connectives are comprised usually of a conjunction occurring in the subordinate clause and a linking adverb or conjunct in the superordinate clause, which has the effect of echoing or emphasizing the relationship indicated by the subordinator.

23. Hi slaepet altoes *soe* vaste *dat*ten niemen wecken can
    'He always sleeps so fast that nobody can wake him' (Ho.1350)

24. *Want* vrouwen vele crancker sijn dan die manne van
    naturen, *daerom* hebben si menigherhande ziechede
    'Because women are much weaker than men by nature,
    therefore they have many kinds of illnesses' (Ho. 1300)

25. Ende *wanneer* een warachtich natuurlike appetijt
    coemt, *dan* salmen thans eten
    'And whenever a truly natural appetite comes, then
    one should eat straight away' (Ho.1300)

Two unusual correlative constructions involve identical connectives *soe...soe* and *hoe...hoe* which denote a kind of proportional sense, something like the *the...the* clauses of English.
These constructions are unusual however in that both clauses involved are mutually dependent - neither could be described as constituting a complete expression.

26. Die eyer *so* si ouder sien *so* si dilder sien
    'the eggs - the older they are the more worthless
    they are' (Ho. 1500)

27. Ende *hoe* dy doeck cleender ende beter ys *hoe* het beet tont
'And the smaller and better the cloth, the better it shows' (Ho. 1500)

Note that conjuncts, although they can express the same logical-semantic relationship between clauses as subordinators, are not however indicators of hypotaxis. Conjuncts can be seen to develop over time into subordinators (or coordinators) and this is where the problems arise for us here; namely in identifying items whose syntactic behaviour is characteristic of more than one category of sentence connective. In the texts used here there are a number of examples to be found where it is simply impossible to distinguish syntactically between independent and dependent clauses (cf. Chapter 4).

Quirk et al. (1972:559) list criteria which characterize items as clausal coordinators in English. Even given the problem that we can only work on constructions actually attested in the data (i.e. we can only observe, not test) such criteria are still useful here in helping us distinguish those possible coordinators of Middle Dutch. Briefly their criteria are as follows -

1. rigid placement of coordinator at head of clause.
2. the clause containing the coordinator is sequentially fixed with relation to the other clause and cannot be moved to precede it.
3. a coordinator cannot be preceded by another conjunction.
4. the subject of the clause containing the coordinator can be deleted if it is coreferential with the subject of the linked clause preceding.
5. a coordinator can be used to conjoin subordinate clauses.
6. a coordinator can be used to link more than two clauses, and in this case it need only appear in the final clause.

As far as such criteria can be applied to written sources then without access to speaker intuitions, the following items only are distinguished here as coordinators.

ende/en - copulative coordinator
oft - optional coordinator
maer - adversative coordinator (3)

In the modern language, coordinators can be further distinguished by the fact that they link clauses without changing word order. However, during Middle Dutch there exists no such clear correlation between clause type and word order, as will become apparent when we examine the development of the word order patterns in the texts under study here. In main clauses conjoined by *ende* for example it is not uncommon to find in the second conjoined clause unexpected word order patterns like the inversion of the subject and its verb or a near-to-final placement of the verb. Similarly conjoined subordinate clauses frequently show a change in placement of the finite verb from that shown in the clause preceding it. We will leave further discussion of this until Chapter 4 where many examples are provided of these unexpected word orders.

FOOTNOTES

1. The problem of sample size is well discussed in Kohonen's (1978) study of Old English word order (cf. pages 74-77). Kohonen also tests the reliability of his sample size by comparing his findings for direct object placement with those from another study based on a corpus twice as large.

2. Definitions given here of coordination and subordination are based on those contained in Quirk et al. (1972).

3. Like English 'but', Middle Dutch *maer* does differ from the other two coordinators in a number of respects. For one, clauses introduced by *maer* are sequentially fixed, and also show certain restrictions when linking subordinate clauses. It seems, as Quirk et al. suggest (p.552) that there exists a continuum between 'pure' coordinator and 'pure' subordinator.

CHAPTER 4

RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

The following chapter deals with the results for the order of major constituents in main, subordinate and conjunct clauses. The following tables 1 and 2 give the number of clauses for each clause type for all texts between 1300 and 1650. Note that the dates given in all tables are for convenience and only approximate the exact date of each text. The date of all texts, however, is provided in Appendix 2, together with a general description of each text.

TABLE 1 Number of clauses by types

BRABANTISH

	1300	1350	1500	1550	1600	1650a	1650b
main clauses	412	377	382	375	357	245	159
adverbial clauses	77	126	142	178	215	81	119
dat-clauses	72	112	66	89	100	102	65
relative clauses	226	188	124	275	187	101	169

TABLE 2 Number of clauses by types

HOLLANDISH

	1300	1350	1450	1500	1600	1650
main clauses	516	448	406	409	340	348
adverbial clauses	125	86	45	168	133	168
dat-clauses	46	35	18	90	94	73
relative clauses	187	209	153	116	233	201

Note that the above two tables do not include the number of conjunct clauses. These are provided in a separate table in section 4.3. In addition, the figures above may be slightly higher than those in later tables. This is on account of the fact that clauses with only subject and verb are also counted here. Such clauses are obviously not included when the position of the verb with respect to other sentence elements is being investigated.

Two Brabantish texts are examined for 1650. The results of the 1650b text deviate so remarkably from those of other texts (in ways made obvious below) that it was decided to examine another text of the same period. Unfortunately, this text (1650a) is also not entirely satisfactory in that it does not contain technical prose, but is much more literary than all the others (cf. description Appendix 2). Nonetheless, it provides an interesting basis for comparison.

4.1 Main clauses

This section deals with the data on the main clause word order patterns. In order to trace possible changes in the position of the finite verb over time, only the relative ordering of S, V and X is recorded (where S = subject, V = finite verb and X = objects, complements, adverbs, adverbial phrases, but not conjunctions). Note here that no distinction is made between simple and complex verb forms. Complex verb forms are dealt with in depth in Chapter 5 following.

Obviously clauses here can, and in fact most did, have more than simply these three elements. But for the time being these other elements are ignored. What is of interest here is the position of the finite verb. This is to investigate a claim made elsewhere in the literature that the history of Dutch reflects a change in declarative main clause word order from "moderate verb-second" to "strict verb-second" (cf. principally Gerritsen 1980 and Jansen 1980).

Five types of word order patterns, then, are sufficient to describe all main clauses encountered here. These are -

1. XVS - where some constituent other than the subject is in initial position followed by inversion of the subject and finite verb (this type is equivalent to Vennemann's (1974) TVX type,

where T is understood as topic; cf. discussion Chapter 2). The more neutral description offered by XVS is preferred here, since not all initial elements are topical).

2. SVX - where the subject is in initial position and immediately followed by the finite verb.
3. VSX - where the finite verb is in initial position and followed by the subject.
4. XSV - where some constituent other than the subject is in initial position, but where inversion of subject and verb fails to occur.
5. SXV - where the subject is in initial position but is followed by some constituent other than the finite verb.

These five patterns can be collapsed into four basic word order types based on the position of the finite verb.

i) Verb-initial - finite verb occurs clause-initially
ii) Verb-second - finite verb is in second position of the clause
iii) Verb-third - finite verb occupies any position later than second but not final
iv) Verb-final - finite verb occurs clause-finally

I am not sure that the distinction between verb-third and verb-final order is a crucial one here. What is crucial, however, is that the verb appears in a position *later* than second position. For our purposes here, then, it is perhaps more convenient to collapse these two orders into a more general one which could be described as final, or near-to-final position of the verb. The failure of the verb to appear in absolute final position is triggered by factors discussed in Chapter 5.

Note that the preverbal negator *ne* and topic markers (i.e. the various pronominal and demonstrative forms as in *die boonen si/die siin niet goet* 'the beans, they are not good') are not here considered under X. They are, however, treated separately in Chapters 7 and 6 respectively. Because of their fixed position, to have included them here would have yielded misleading results.

Tables 3 and 4, then, present the percentage figures for the word order patterns of all texts according to the above classification. Figures 1 and 2 show in graph form the percentages of verb-second (V/2), and non-V/2 structures over the given time period.

TABLE 3 Main Clause Word Order

BRABANTISH

	XVS	SVX	VSX	XSV	SXV	No.Clauses
1300	44%	51%	(5)	(5)	(9)	400
1350	52%	44%	(5)	(6)	(4)	353
1500	53%	44%	(1)	(6)	(3)	375
1550	39%	52%	-	(34)	-	364
1600	52%	40%	(14)	(13)	-	349
1650a	36%	62%	(1)	(4)	-	230
1650b	57%	41%	-	(3)	-	156

TABLE 4 Main Clause Word Order

HOLLANDISH

	XVS	SVX	VSX	XSV	SXV	No.Clauses
1300	36%	62%	(6)	(4)	(2)	502
1350	30%	66%	(3)	(10)	(2)	429
1450	50%	47%	(2)	(10)	-	405
1500	56%	42%	(2)	(6)	(1)	402
1600	55%	42%	(1)	(5)	-	330
1650	50%	48%	(2)	(4)	(1)	344

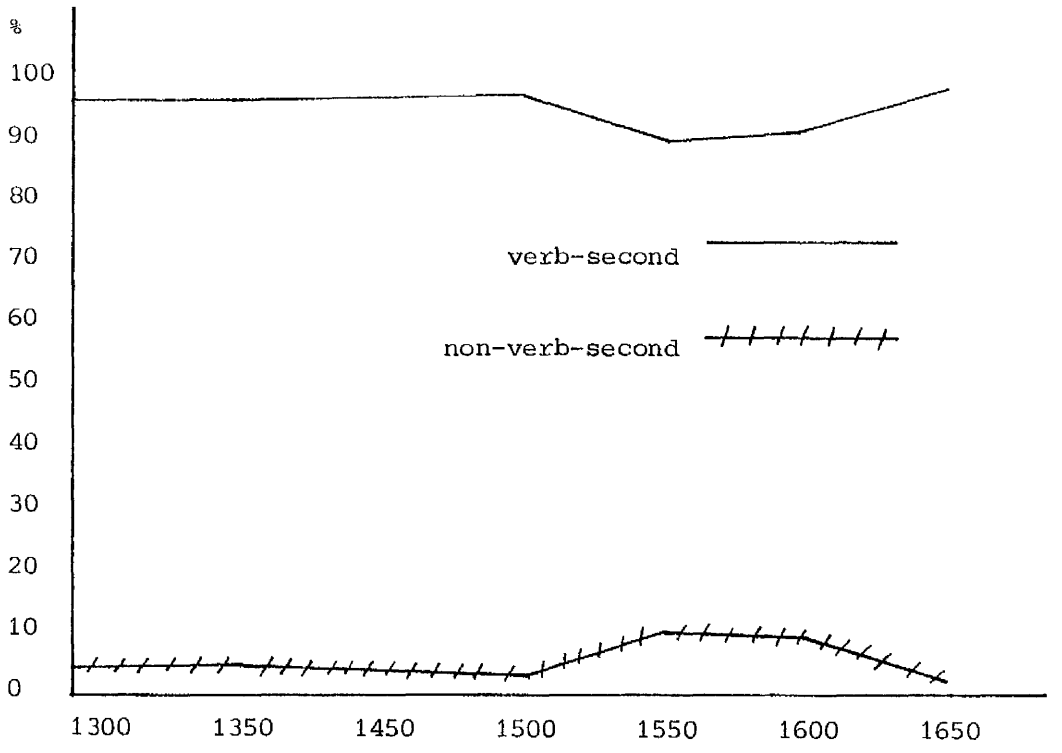


FIGURE 1 Main Clause Word Order Patterns - Brabantish

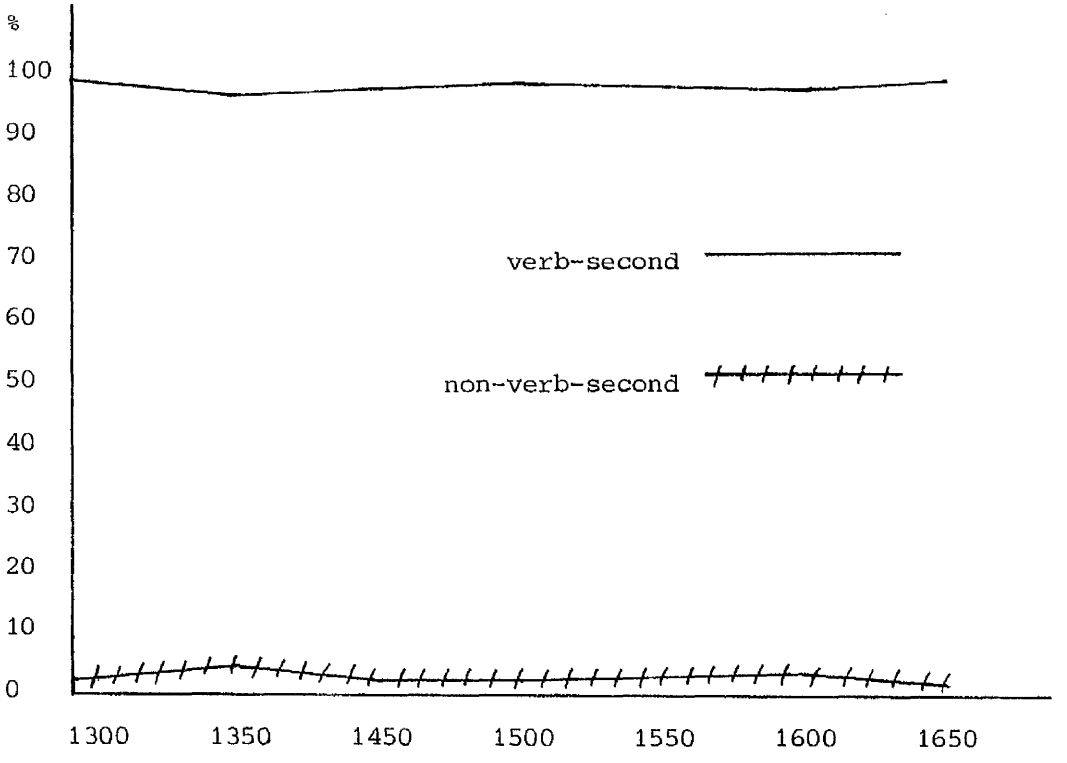


FIGURE 2 Main Clause Word Order Patterns - Hollandish

As can be seen from the tables and figures above, the percentage of V/2 order at no time drops below 91%. Even in the very earliest texts, the percentage of V/2 order remains in the high 90's. Now although there can be dangers in inferring the unmarked order solely on the basis of frequency, I do not think that there is any doubt that V/2 is both the dominant and unmarked or 'expected' order for main declarative clauses in all stages of Middle Dutch. Alternative word order patterns are used only marginally, and must be described as more marked. We will examine some of the possible functions of these orders below.

4.11 VSX order

Verb-initial or 'inverted' word order as it is sometimes called, appears to have two functions in the early Germanic languages, and the remnants of both of these functions can be seen to have survived in Middle Dutch. And here I am referring to two distinct pragmatic functions. I am not including, therefore, the grammatical function of V/1 to mark certain clause types; namely, imperatives, yes-no questions and conditional clauses.

For one, the initial position of the verb clearly gives emphasis to it (and this is supported by the fact that V/1 order is the marker of the above clause types - imperatives, interrogatives, and conditionals - where there is heavy emphasis on the verb). At the same time as emphasizing the verbal elements, this order also gives the subject focus by shifting it out of its normal position towards the end of the clause. For these reasons V/1 order is often the order to be found in "lively narrative sequences and in sequence-initial sentences" (Hopper 1975:52) a function which is still preserved in modern Scandinavian languages and to a certain extent in Modern German). V/1 order is also the obvious candidate for presentative and existential expressions, where subjects are introduced into the discourse for the first time (cf. also Hopper 1975:59 for V/1 order in Germanic to express "new episodes and changes of topic").(1)

Let us, then, examine some of the sentences from the present data where this inherited function of V/1 seems to be preserved. Since the order of elements in these and later examples is contextually motivated, they

are quoted below together with the sentences leading up to them.

1. Nem versch rosenblade ende breecse. Ende dochse in oly. Ende laetse zieden ghehanghen in enen vate in enen ziedende ketel mit water. *Ende wort goet oly.*
   'Take fresh rosepetals and break them up. And put them in oil. And let them boil in a vessel (a bowl?) hanging in a boiling kettle with water. And good oil develops' (Ho. 1300)

2. Men sal vlien nevelighe lucht, dicke lucht, stinckende ende ghecorrumpeerde lucht. *Ende is openbaer mit experimenten, dat onzuverheit der lucht den sinne plompt.*
   'One should flee from smokey air, thick air, stinking and polluted air. And (it) is clear from experiments that impurity of air dulls the senses' (Ho. 1300)

3. Jeghen den steen is goet gheten senpoer, *suuert hi den vrouwen*
   'For stones (in the kidneys), mustard powder is good eaten it cleanses women' (Ho. 1450)

Example (2) above illustrates another instance where V/1 order may appear; namely, in the event of the extraposition of sentential subjects. Now, such sentences would be headed by an obligatory 'dummy' subject *het*, as is the case in English (cf. discussion in Chapter 6 for the use of 'dummy' subjects in these and in existential constructions). In example (3) the verb in initial position certainly seems to have an emphatic sense. This use of the initial position as one of emphasis for the verb is even clearer, though, in the following two examples.

4. Te voren vore dien tijd woudic altoes weten in all minen doene. *Peinsdic ende seide emmer* wat es minne ende wie is minne
   'Earlier, before this time (the time of Hadewijch's vision) I always wanted to know (things) in all that I did. I wondered and continually said, what is love and who is love?' (Br. 1300)

5. Des zomers ende in heten tiden salmen sprayen couden water, rosewater ... ende dinghen, die coude roeke maken *salmen dan suffumigacien maken*

'In summer and in hot times, one should spray cold water, rosewater ... and things, which make cold smoke. One should then make subfumigations' (Ho. 1300)

A second function of verb-initial order in Germanic appears to have been as a linking device (cf. discussion in Dunbar 1979:128-135). Behaghel (1932:28-30) points to the coordinating use of V/1 in Germanic clauses and concludes

"Zusammenfassend kann man wohl sagen, dass die Spitzenstellung in weitem Umfang als Anschlussstellung zu gelten hat" (p.30)

Smith (1971), on evidence from the earliest runes, later Scandinavian runes, Old Scandinavian law documents, Old Icelandic, Old High German, Gothic, Old Saxon and Old English concludes that the neutral order for conjoined clauses was V/1. Unfortunately, many of his V/1 examples are in fact conjunct clauses with deleted subject. But apart from these, he does provide substantial evidence that one important function of V/1 order was coordinating. And he is certainly not alone here. Miller (1975:35) writes of a "conservative coordinated pattern of VSO for Germanic". Dunbar (1979:32-35) discusses frequent inversion of subject and verb after the coordinating conjunction 'and' in the early Germanic dialects. And indeed it is most usually after *ende* that we find V/1 order in Middle Dutch (also example 1 above). The following examples are certainly reminiscent of this coordinate function of early Germanic.

6. Looc salmen sayen in november ... ende dat salmen setten vier vingeren deen vanden anderen opt hoochste. *Ende sal men det aertrijc suver houden*

'Garlic one should sow in November ... and one should place that four fingers at the most (the) one from the other. And one should keep the earth clean' (Br. 1500)

7. Si ys goet tegen den hoeft zuer, tegen reuma ende flegma ende tegen quade flumen ... ende epilencie, ende tegen alle siecheiden van hoefden, ende tegen montouel, ende tegen den hart vanck, tegen den kanker, tantzweer, tegen

droue harte *ende maket sy blide dy drouich syn*
'It (brandy!) is good for head ache, for catarrh and phlegm and for bad phlegm ... and epilepsy and for all sickness of heads, and for sore mouths, and for heart seizure, for cancer, toothaches, for depression and it makes happy those people who are sad' (Ho. 1500)

In summary, then, V/1 order in Middle Dutch declarative main clauses is a secondary and marked order with at least two inherited functions from Proto-Germanic. One, as an emphatic order to lend focus to the verb (and at the same time the subject), V/1 order is typical of lively narrative prose. It is also the characteristic order for existential/presentative constructions. Two, as a linking device, V/1 order can also be found in sequences of coordinated clauses.

4.12 SXV order

It is appropriate to deal now with SXV (which includes both final and near-to-final position of the verb) since it shares a predominant function with verb-initial order; namely, a coordinating function. Verb-final order has been suggested by a number of linguists as the conjunctive order for Proto-Indo-European, a function which has also carried on into early Germanic dialects. Hopper (1975:52), for example, maintains that it is this order rather than V/1 order which was used in Germanic for "extended sequences of sentences in narrative style". Dunbar (1979:155) writes that "V/F order apparently served to signal that the discourse theme was flowing unbroken from the preceding clauses". Behaghel (1932) also points to the use of verb-final or near-to-final order in conjoined clauses. Using evidence from Old English, German and Old Swedish, he notes "dass in einem zweiten Satz, der einem ersten konjunktionell angeschlossen ist, der zweite nicht selten die Nichtzweitstellung des Verbums zeigt" (p.13). This function he assumes to have existed in Proto-Germanic and possibly also in Proto-Indo-European. Traugott (1972:107-108) claims that in Old English "in subordinate clauses or any coordinate clause except the first, the order is: Subject (Object) ... Verb (Auxiliary)". Kuhn (1933) also supports the idea of V/F as a marker of coordination. He contends that in Germanic, division of clauses was not between main and subordinate

clauses, but between independent main clauses on the one hand, and pragmatically "bound" (or dependent) clauses on the other (i.e. including both conjoined and subordinate clauses). The neutral position for the verb in these "bound" clauses was late in the clause or final. Independent main clauses, however, showed a preference for V/1 or V/2 order.

There is certainly evidence for this coordinating function in the texts here as the following extracts indicate. Although this order is not frequent, it usually does occur in sequences of clauses.

8. Ende dat quade accidencien siin die sieke verliest siin verstandenisse ende valt in onmachte ende verliest siin sprake ende siin stemme ontvalt hem *ende hem siin aensicht root is ende hem die puysten uut broddelen ende hi sinen appotiit verliest ende hi sieck wort inden lichaem ende ten monde coort bitter coleren*
'And the bad signs are, the patients loses his reasoning and falls into (a) faint and loses his speech and (him - dative of possession) his voice fails and (him - dative of possession) pustules break out and he loses his appetite and he becomes sick in the body and brings up bile out of the mouth' (Br. 1350)

After 1500 the use of this marked secondary order to indicate sequential clauses virtually disappears (only 1 example in 1650 Hollandish).

4.13 XSV order

What here has been termed verb-third order describes those cases where the expected inversion of subject and finite verb fails to take place when another element than the subject heads the clause. Examples of these are plentiful in all texts even though overall they form only a very small percentage of main clauses. The following, then, are some examples of this order. Most have initial adverb or adverbial phrase; one (example 10) has an initial object.

9. *Van allen ghemenen syropen* sommich is heet, sommich is cout
'Of all general syrups (from plant juices) some are hot, some are cold' (Ho. 1300)

10. *Canker, fistel, mormael, den wolf ... end noli me tangere, speenen ende morpheen,* dyt geneest
'Cancer, fistula, birth-marks, herpes ... 'noli me tangere' (severe skin desease), piles and leprosy, this cures' (Ho.1500)

11. *Ende daerom als ghi siet alle dese teeken of sommige sonder twifel* die sieke en sal niet ghenesen
'And therefore, if you see all these signs or some (of them), without doubt, the patient shall not recover' (Br. 1350)

12. *Daeromme* die naecte ende ongheleerde surginen ... leghen alle weghen haer pappen sonder besceet op die wonden
'Therefore, the foolish and ignorant surgeons ... place their paste mixtures everywhere upon the wounds without discrimination' (Br. 1350)

13. *Jeghen wonden* men sal nemen blader of dat zaet of die bloemen vanden reinvaen
'For wounds, one should take the leaves or the seed or the flowers of the 'reinvaen' (Ho. 1450)

14. Maer *dicwijls ende de luttel te male* dat is seer goet
'But often and a little each time, that (the fertilizing of soil) is very good' (Br. 1500)

15. *Alle druyven die men snijt* eer si wel rijp zijn dien wijn en sal niet natuerlijc zijn
'All grapes which one cuts before they are well and truly ripe - the wine will not be natural' (Br. 1500)

16. *Ayuyn gesaeyt ontrent boomen* het si appelboomen oft peer-boomen die vruchten zijs veel te beter ende te soetere
'Onion strewn around trees, they be apple trees or pear trees - the fruit is much better and sweeter because of it' (Br. 1500)

17. *Want aengaende dat deel der medicijne, dat men Chirgica heet,* dat heeft eerste ende meest voor sijne ghereedtschap de handt van doen ende sommighe ander instrumenten

'For, concerning the part of medicine which one calls 'surgery', that has to do with, first and foremost, the hand for its tools, and some other instruments' (Br. 1550)

18. *Aengaende de dinghen die niet en voeden* sy sullen oock door de selve redene wesen....
'Concerning the thingswhich do not nourish, they should also for the same reasons be....' (Br. 1550)

19. Maer *die are die verslonden worden* die een was Sinte Augustijn, die ander ic
'But (of) the eagles, which had been devoured - the one was Saint Augustus, the other me' (Br. 1300)

20. *Dit sperma ruta nochteren ghedronken* gheen wiin en mach hem deren
'This sperma ruta drunk in moderation, no wine can hurt him' (Ho. 1350)

21. *Pulver ghebrant vanden mol ... ende water daer of ghemaect,* dat water selmen heten Aqua Daelbatium
'Powder (ash) burnt from moles ... and water made from that - the water, one should call 'Aqua Dealbatium' (Ho.1350)

There are a number of problems which arise in classifying certain items which appear to have ambivalent syntactic status. I refer here to those adverbial elements which can best be described as borderline cases between pure adverb (or more specifically conjunct) and co-ordinating conjunction. This problem was touched upon in Chapter 3. It is appropriate to examine more closely some of these items.

In Modern Dutch there are also several identical, or etymologically related items which belong to different syntactic categories. For example *dus* ('therefore/thus') behaves as both adverb and coordinating conjunction. Semantically, there is no difference between these items and they both share the grammatical function of linking clauses. The distinction is made between adverb and conjunction on the basis of word order - *dus*, as an adverb, conditions subject-verb inversion and as a conjunction does not affect the word order of the following clause (like other conjunctions it is not felt to be a part of the clause structure).

As the less usual expression, *dus* as a coordinating conjunction is felt to be more marked.

22a. Ruud bleef thuis *dus ging Karel ook niet uit*
b. Ruud bleef thuis *dus Karel ging ook niet uit*
'Ruud stays at home, so Karel doesn't go out either' (2)

It is interesting that in Middle Dutch data here, *dus* appears only as an adverb and I have seen no reference to its coordinating use anywhere in the grammars (Verdam describes it as a conjunction, but the ten examples he gives are all adverbial). It must, therefore, have taken on this function sometime after 1650.

Also in Modern Dutch, there exist two forms *toch* and *doch*, which correspond to the adverb ('nevertheless/however') and the coordinating conjunction ('but') respectively. Obviously, *toch* and *doch* have a common etymological origin (Old High German *doh*, Old English (*all*) *thēah thēh* < Proto-Germanic *þ*aux*). These functional differences, then, which occurred later in Dutch resulted in a formal split into the two distinct syntactic categories *toch*, the adverb, and *doch*, the conjunction. This formal distinction is usually attributed to an original Sandhi phenomenon. *Toch* is said to have been a form of *doch* which arose from the influence of the preceding *d* of *ende* - *ende doch* > *entoch* (*ende* would not have preceded *doch*, the conjunction). By the 17th century it had come to mark the grammatical distinction.

23a. Hij heeft het beloofd *toch heeft hij het niet gedaan*
b. Hij heeft het beloofd *doch hij heeft het niet gedaan*
'He promised it, yet he did not do it'

Unfortunately, this useful lexical distinction is not represented consistently in the spelling of Middle Dutch. In fact, *toch* does not appear in any of the texts studied here. Nonetheless, both functions of *doch* as adverb and conjunction occur often.

24. Celtica is cruut ende wasset opter heyden. *Doch ist minder van bladeren*
'Celtica is (a) herb and (it) grows on the heath. Nevertheless, it has few leaves' (Ho.1450)

25. *Doch dese krachten sijn tweederhande*
'But these powers are of two kinds' (Br. 1550)

Interestingly, *doch* in Middle Dutch (like *toch* and *dus* in the modern language) requires inversion of the subject and finite verb when it is preceded by a conjunction like *ende*, for example; i.e. it can only have adverbial function.(3)

Doch, like *dus*, the coordinating conjunction, is now more literary in style, and is rarely found in the spoken language.

G.Bolognino in his spelling treatise of 1644 (here Brabantish text 1650b) says something of relevance here with reference to the popular confusion in his day between the forms *toch* and *doch*.

> "Men sammelt qualyc onder een, 1. dese wórdekens doch en toch : want doch, in't beginsel van een redé, beteekent byna het selve dat mär beteekent : ende toch is als een versekerende wordt, gelyc àlsmen sêt : ja toch"
>
> 'One is badly confused between, 1. the little words *doch* and *toch* : for *doch*, at the beginning of a discourse, means almost the same as *maar* ('but') means : and *toch* is like an assuring word, just like one says : *But yes*' (p.34)

Understandably, with this sort of inconsistency and confusion in the spelling it is impossible to tell in clauses with *doch* followed by subject-verb inversion (as in 24 above) whether or not *doch* is here functioning as an adverb, or whether these are, in fact cases of inverted word order after coordinating conjunctions (such as after *ende* as discussed above). It was decided, however, to treat such examples as the adverbial use of *doch* (i.e. XVS order). Even if this analysis proves to be incorrect on a number of occasions, such cases are not numerous enough to have any significant effect on the final results. It would be interesting to trace when this formal split first entered the language. The same process occurred with *toen* and *doen* ('then' and 'when'), the adverb and the subordinator, respectively, although only *toen* survives, with both functions in the modern language (cf. later discussion section 4.24).

A number of problems arise with the item *dan*. The various developments which have taken place in the different Germanic dialects from what must have been some sort of demonstrative element in the proto-language (*þan- 'from there'?) indicate the sort of confusing picture which surrounds the history of this element (Old High German *dana* (*da* is the ablative of the demonstrative pronoun; *na* signifies 'from') > Middle

High German *danne* and *denne* > Modern German *dann* ('then', an adverb with full temporal sense) and *denn* (a clausal conjunction with weak temporal sense, usually glossed 'for' although it is used more frequently than English 'for'; cf. Lockwood 1969:229) and Modern English 'then' and 'than' are reflexes of the one form).

As outlined in Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch Handwoordenboek* (*MNW*), the function of *dan* in Middle Dutch would appear to be fairly clear-cut. It is first described as a straightforward temporal adverb, corresponding to English 'then'.

26. *Dan* nemt vier onssen fijn widt suijcker
'Then take four ounces of fine white sugar'
(from *Een Antwerps Receptenboekje van ca 1575-1625*)

Like English *then*, it can also appear with the temporal sense weakened to convey more a notional rather than a temporal relation between clauses. In this respect, it behaves like a straightforward conjunct (cf. sentence example 25 in Chapter 3 where *dan* in this function is discussed as a correlative connective).

27. Of dat gheluijt ghesont es *dan es dat hersenbecken ghesont*
'If the sound (of the knocking) is healthy, then the cranium is healthy' (Br. 1350)

As a conjunction, it occurs after a comparative with the meaning 'than' (*groeter dan* 'greater than') or after a negative with the meaning 'but/except' (*die erde brochte niet dan goet* 'the earth brought nothing but good').

In this adverbial function, we find *dan* when at the head of a clause consistently conditioning subject-verb inversion; that is until the mid-16th and 17th centuries when, in the texts studies here, *dan* suddenly seems to take on the function of a causal coordinator, like *denn* 'for' in Modern German. This is true of both dialects, although it is probably stronger in the south.

28. ...hoewel ik niet en twijfel ofte 'tselfde is terstont naer de eerste vergrootinghe deser stede gheschiet. *Dan ik hebbe in seecker gheschrijfte ghevonden de namen vande eerste fondeerders ende stichters der selver*
'...although I do not doubt that the latter (i.e. the

the building mentioned earlier) was established immediately after the first enlargement of this town. For I have found in certain documents the names of the first founders and creators of the latter (building)'

Van der Horst (1981a:171) hints that this coordinating function is not unknown in Middle Dutch when he says

> "*Dan* als nevenbeschikkend voegwoord met de betekenis "maar" is geen onbekende in de nederlandse taalgeschiedenis"
> ('*Dan* as coordinating conjunction with the meaning "maar" is not unknown in the history of the Dutch language')

At least as far as the texts here are concerned, this use of *dan* only begins sometime around the middle of the 16th century (this is supported also by the entries in Verdam's *MNW* which stops at the beginning of the 16th century and which makes no mention of this coordinating use of *dan*).[4] It is interesting that this function no longer exists in the modern language. Its use, then, must have been very short lived. It is highly likely that this represents a prestige borrowing, perhaps only into the written language, from German (i.e. from *denn*). During this time the influence from German on Dutch scholarly writing was great.

Are then instances of 'Dan S V X' order to be counted here as violations of V/2 order or can we accept that *dan* has for a short period taken on the function of coordinating conjunction? I have decided here on the latter for two reasons -

1. The overall trend suggested by the data here is clearly towards strict verb-second order, as we find in the modern language. It makes no sense for language to suddenly, for no apparent reason reverse this trend.
2. Semantically, *dan*, in these cases does appear to have assumed a mildly causative sense hitherto unknown. And as Van der Horst has pointed out to me (personal communication) this phenomenon does occur in the modern language with items like *dus* (and also *alleen* 'only'; cf. Donaldson 1981:199).

But there are also two reasons why I am not entirely satisfied with this solution. For one, Brabantish documents here do, in fact, show a definite increase in XSV order (i.e. non-verb-second) in the mid

16th and early 17th centuries as shown in Table 3 (this does not seem to be the case for Hollandish). As yet I have no clear explanation for this sudden increase in non-V/2 order during this time (cf. Chapter 5, however, for a possible solution).
Secondly, the occasional appearance of *so* before *dan* without subject-verb inversion leads me to suspect that *dan* does not have the full status of a coordinating conjunction (cf. the properties of coordinating conjunctions outlined in Chapter 3, and cf. Quirk et al. 1972: 558-559 for discussion of those items which only function in part as coordinating conjunctions).

Despite these counter-arguments, clauses with 'Dan S V X' order are treated here under Type 2, SVX order; i.e. as V/2.

To this problem of classifying connectives and clause types is of direct relevance a recent article by Van der Horst (1981a) in which he presents a number of interesting hypotheses with the aim of overcoming precisely this problem. It is best to tackle the question of Middle Dutch dependent clause order, however, before considering this work. We will, therefore, return to this question below (section 4.2).

Many of the XSV orders occur with the failure of subject-verb inversion after simple adverbs, especially conjuncts (such as *nochtans*, *niettemin* and *voorts*, illustrated in the following examples) and disjuncts (like *voorzeker*, *voorwaer*, *zeker* 'truly').

29. *Nochtans* het gebeurt seer dickwils dat sommighe ... verscheyden worden
'However, it happens very often that some ... become different' (Br. 1550)

30. Het is te duchten jae, *nochtans* lange messen en maecken geenen cock noch de cap en maeckt den munninck niet
'It is to be feared certainly; however long knives do not make a cook and the hood does not make the monk' (Br. 1600)

31a. Maer *nochtans* de ghene die verkoelt zijn hinderlijck
'But, nonetheless, those which make cool are harmful' (Br.1550)

32a. *Niet te min* alle dese dinghen worden van Galenus ... ghenoemt
'Nevertheless, all these things are named by Galienus' (Br. 1550)

33a. *Voorts* alle medicamenten zijn oft simpel oft worden van simpelen gemaekt
'Moreover, all medications are either simple or are made from simples' (Br. 1550)

Examples such as these are here considered to be non-V/2 order. Although they have an obvious connective function, it makes no sense that they suddenly assume in such cases as these the function of coordinating conjunctions. For one, they usually do occur with subject-verb inversion. Examples like the above are much rarer than ones like 31b, 32b and 33b below.

31b. *Nochtans* vindt men daer oock sommighe die altijdt groen blijven
'Nonetheless, one also finds there some which always stay green' (Br. 1550)

32b. *Niet te min* wordt 'dicht' in't Duytsch 'densum' in't Latijn geheeten
'Nevertheless, *dicht* in the Dutch is called *densum* in the Latin' (Br. 1550)

33b. *Voorts* kommen de onsmakelijcke dinghen oock seer nae by de soete
'Moreover, the tasteless things also come close to the sweet (ones)' (Br. 1550)

Secondly, they do appear with preceding conjunctions, such as (31a) above. In addition, there are many other adverbs and adverbial phrases (such as 9 - 14 given earlier) which fail on occasion to trigger inversion. There is one problem, however, and that is the question of punctuation. In all the examples cited above with initial adverbs and adverbial phrases (and others included under XSV), there is no comma, or equivalent marking, following these items. Where a comma is present, indicating a possible intonation break, as in (34) below, these examples are not considered to be violations of V/2 order. The existence of such an intonation break between the initial element(s) and the rest of the clause (if indeed punctuation can ever be said to be a reliable indication of this), means they can be considered to stand outside the clause structure.

34. Eerst: zij en bedwingen den stroom niet
'First, they do not restrain the current' (Br. 1600)

Such constructions can also be found in Modern Dutch and also in Modern German (for example, after *erstens* 'firstly', *freilich* 'admittedly', *natürlich* 'of course', *zum Beispiel* 'for example', etc...), although it should be added, that these are definitely less usual in the spoken language of both and, therefore, more marked. One German grammar describes the use in the following way -

> "A few introductory words and phrases may be followed either by a comma and normal order, or by inversion without a comma; inversion is more usual; normal order gives greater edge to the statement" (Hammer 1971:362)

Unfortunately, punctuation is very unreliable in the early texts. I have always followed the punctuation given in the text editions available to me. Some of the time, punctuation may have been added later by the editor, but often it is not clear. In the Braekman editions, and in the Hollandish text of 1300, and the Brabantish texts of 1300 and 1350 the punctuation seems to be original (and accordingly chaotic and inconsistent, at least it seems so. I am unfamiliar with the early conventions with respect to punctuation, if in fact they existed at all). For the Hollandish texts of 1600 and 1650, and the Brabantish texts of 1550 and 1650 I have used the very early editions in which presumably the punctuation is close to the original. Nonetheless, it still remains that it is impossible to know for sure whether or not the author intended the above sentences (29-33) to be read with an intonation break between the initial adverbial and the rest of the sentence. But since these examples constitute such a small number in the total number of clauses, if I have made any incorrect analyses it will make little difference to the overall outcome of the results. The rarity of these examples points to the markedness of such structures. With or without an intervening intonation break, these XSV structures can rightly be considered stylistically more marked or emphatic, as they are today in the modern languages. It is perhaps then these stylistic factors which are behind the unusual increase in XSV order in the Brabantish texts of 1550 and 1600.

Examples (14) - (21) given above involve initial past or present

participial constructions, and some constructions which closely resemble 'double subject' structures. These will be discussed in detail in Chapter 6. Admittedly, some of these do include a following comma, but as will be shown later, they differ very much from the initial adverbs and adverbial phrases discussed above.

At the beginning of this study, it was stated as a working principle that the occurrence of two or more elements of the same grammatical category was counted only once. Accordingly, a combination of adverbs and adverbial phrases at the head of a clause was not considered to be a violation of V/2 order. Examples like the following, then, were treated as examples of XVS (V/2) order.[5]

35. Ende *dan altehante mit groter haest* eer dat vel cout wort binnen, *so* salmen doer dat gat vant been in doen een half pont mede
'And then, straight way, with great speed, before the hide becomes cold within, (so) one should pour in through the hole of the bone a half pint of mead' (Ho. 1500)

36. *Voert in die wonde* suldi doen al vol drogher doecken
'Moreover, in the wound, you should pack (it) all full of dry cloths' (Br. 1350)

In Modern Dutch (as in Modern German) it is not unusual for a clause to begin with more than one adverb or adverbial phrase. The stacking of these items initially, however, is more a feature of literary language (particularly in discourse initial structures where a special effect is sought by delaying the subject -
'Once upon a time, in a land far away ... there lived a king ...').
It is more usual to find combinations of similar adverbs, which is true also of the data here; combinations of adverbials of time (*te voren vore dien tijd* 'earlier, before this time', *daarna eens paeschs daghes* 'afterwards on an Easter Day', etc...) for example. Any constraints which exist on the placement of adverbs in sequence are stylistic (where obviously individual preferences are also involved). For this reason it is difficult to assess what sort of a change, if any at all, has taken place between the medieval and the modern language in this respect. And of course it is impossible to tell whether combinations of

initial adverbs is more a feature of written rather than spoken language in Middle Dutch as it is now in Modern Dutch. One very noticable change, however, does occur with regard to the adverb *so*. In Middle Dutch it is very common indeed for *so* to follow an initial adverb, adverbial phrase or adverbial clause.

37. *Voert so* sal men emmer dinc scuwen, die verduwen benemen
'Accordingly (so) one should at all times avoid things, which hinder digestion' (Ho. 1300)

38. Ende *van alle soe* siin alder quaets te ghenesen die ronde wonde
'And of all (so) are the worst to cure the round wounds' (Br. 1350)

39. *Als dat hooft ghewont es soe* seldi proeven of thersenbecken al doer es
'If the head has been wounded, then you should test whether the cranium is completely pierced' (Br. 1350)

In the modern language this use of *so* has completely vanished. It is difficult to assess the function of *so* in these early texts. After adverbial clauses it is clearly that of a correlative device, as we shall discuss below in Section 4.14. But after adverbs and adverbial phrases, its function is more like that of a 'resumptive' topic marker, and it is in this regard that *so* is treated in Section 4.4 below and Chapter 6 later.

4.14 The word order of main clauses preceded by subordinate clauses

In Middle Dutch, there are three possible word orders for main clauses preceded by subordinate clauses. All three word order patterns are well represented in the texts examined here, as the following examples illustrate.

1. SVX

40. Connen wi den mensche met dieten ghenesen *wi en selen hem gheen dranken gheven*
'If we can cure the person with (special) diets, we should not give him any potions' (Br. 1350)

41. Dat een mensche niet dronken worden en mach *men sal eten van de longhene van eenen weere, dat is van een scape*
'So that a person may not become drunk, one should eat from the lung of a wether, that is, of a sheep' (Br. 1500)

2. XVS

42. Ende wanneer een warachtich natuurlike appetijt coemt *dan sal men thans eten*
'And whenever a truly natural appetite comes, then one should eat straight away' (Ho. 1300)

43. Als men gheen goet regiment en houdt *so werden quade humoren in den lichaem te veel bloets ofte ander humoren*
'If one doesn't maintain a good regiment, then bad humours develop in the body - too much blood or other humours' (Ho.1300)

3. VSX

44. Als hem dit ghebrect *salmense niet in medicine doen*
'If they are lacking this, one should not put them in medicine' (Ho. 1300)

45. Eer ghi u onderwint te curen wonden vanden hoefde *seldi merken ende besien die accidencien vanden sieken*
'Before you undertake to cure wounds of the head, you should take notice of and look at the symptoms of the patient' (Br. 1350)

In Modern Standard Dutch variant 3 is the most common form, although variant 2 is also used especially after conditional clauses.

46. Wanneer het regent, *wil ik thuis blijven*
'Whenever it rains, I want to stay at home.

47. Als het regent, *wil ik thuis blijven*
'If it rains, I want to stay at home'

48. Als het regent, *dan wil ik thuis blijven*
'If it rains, then I want to stay at home'

Note that in Modern Dutch conjunctionless conditionals are also possible (as in English, they are typical of more elevated style). If a main

clause is preceded by such a clause, then the adverb *dan* is obligatory.

49. Kom je morgen, *dan zal ik je helpen*
    'If you come tomorrow, then I will help you'

50. Was hij gekomen, *dan hadden wij hem kunnen helpen*
    'Had he come, then we could have helped him'

Variant 1 has almost disappeared from the modern language. It is preserved only in those main clauses which are preceded by *al* ('even if').

51. Al regent het, *ik wil niet thuis blijven*
    'Even if it rains, I do not want to stay at home'

The *al*-clause above is unusual in that, unlike other subordinate clauses it does not show verb-final order. Clearly, in origin *al* must have been simply an intensifier placed at the head of those conjunctionless conditional clauses which have inverted subject-finite verb order. In this sense, *al* is best understood as an adverb rather than a subordinator.

Van der Horst (1981a:181-182 and 1981b:41) maintains that variant 1 is the oldest of the three orders, and suggests that a development has taken place in Dutch from 1 to 3 via 2. German can be seen to be a step further in this development. Inversion of subject and verb (i.e. variant 3) always occurs in those main clauses headed by subordinate clauses, even conjunctionless conditionals.

52. Wenn es morgen regnet, *will ich zu Hause bleiben*
    'If it rains tomorrow, I want to stay at home'

53. Regnet es morgen, *will ich zu Hause bleiben*

That such a development is underway in Dutch is an attractive idea and certainly is supported by a comparison of the modern language with its earlier stages. And as will be discussed below, such a development is what we would predict of a language with an emerging verb-second constraint. Unfortunately, the texts here are no help in providing any insight into this development. Despite the considerable time span covered by the data, the results are remarkably static with respect to the ordering found in main clauses preceded by subordinate clauses, as the following table illustrates. The figures represent the percentages for each variant order 1 - 3. The number of main clauses is given in brackets.

TABLE 5 Order of elements in main clauses preceded by subordinate clauses

BRABANTISH

	1. SVX	2. XVS	3. VSX	Total
1300	13%	79%	8%	(24)
1350	19%	75%	6%	(72)
1500	26%	72%	2%	(69)
1550	10%	64%	26%	(31)
1600	18%	63%	19%	(62)
1650a	24%	64%	12%	(25)
1650b	12/13	-	1/13	(13)

TABLE 6 Order of elements in main clauses preceded by subordinate clauses

HOLLANDISH

	1. SVX	2. XVS	3. VSX	Total
1300	8%	74%	18%	(50)
1350	59%	38%	3%	(63)
1450	19%	77%	4%	(48)
1500	24%	73%	3%	(56)
1600	7%	70%	24%	(29)
1650	13%	83%	4%	(69)

As the above two tables show, the figures remain surprisingly consistent for both dialects. Brabantish results reflect only slightly the expected increase of variant 3 and corresponding decrease of variant 2 order; Hollandish results not at all.

As late as 1650, 57 out of a total of 69 main clauses show variant 2, XVS, order after preceding subordinate clauses (35 with initial *so*, 21 with initial *dan*, 1 with initial *eveneens* 'likewise'). The high proportion of variant 1 orders (especially for the Hollandish text of 1350) can be explained when we examine the type of subordinate clause which precedes. Of a total of 128 clauses, 91% have preceding conditional

clauses (89 conjunctionless conditionals, 13 with initial *als*, 8 with *indien*, 5 with *al*, 1 with *so*, 1 with *of*). Of the 11 remaining main clauses with SVX order, 6 have preceding infinitival clauses, while the others are preceded by dependent clauses headed by subordinators *doen* 'then', *insoverre* 'to the extent (that)', *dat* '(so) that', and 2 by *wanneer* 'when/whenever', a number of which bear close resemblance to conditional clauses. Because of the instructive nature of most of these texts, conditional sentences like the following abound in them.

54. Coert hi niet *men siede wiin ende zeem te gader*
'If he doesn't recover, one should boil wine and honey together' (Ho. 1350)

55. Comt hi dier ghelike ter wonde wt *dat is teken vander doot*
'If it comes out of the wound in the same way, that is (the) sign of death' (Ho. 1350)

In the Hollandish text of 1350, from which the above examples are drawn, 61 out of the 63 main clauses were preceded by conditional clauses, which accounts for the high percentage of variant 1 order.

If Van der Horst's claim that the 3 variants correspond to 3 distinct diachronic stages in the history of Dutch (and other Germanic languages?) is correct, then it must have been after 1650 that the change to variant 3 as the standard order gained most momentum. An examination of the texts here reveals that, in keeping with what we understand about the nature of syntactic diffusion, the development from 1 to 3 infiltrates different syntactic environments at different rates. For some reason sentences involving conditional clauses lag behind those involving other subordinate clause types (and conjunctionless conditionals can be seen to lag behind those conditional clauses with overt markers *als*, *indien*, etc..). In all texts from 1300 - 1650, variant 2 is the dominant order after adverbial subordinate clauses, and is occasionally to be found after conditionals. Variant 1 is found almost exclusively after conditional clauses, and in the earliest texts, after a handful of adverbial subordinate clauses (providing evidence of an earlier time when it enjoyed a wider distribution). Least frequent of all is variant 3 which occurs only rarely after conjunctionless conditionals, more commonly after adverbial clauses.(6)

In the modern language expressions involving conditional clauses are once again conservative. Variant 2 is compulsory after conjunctionless conditionals and is occasionally to be found after other conditionals with overt markers. One interesting change here has occurred in the type of correlative adverb at the head of the main clause. In Middle Dutch it seems that virtually any conjunct adverb could appear in this position (*doe, doen, daeromme, nochtans* etc..) although *so* and *dan* were by far the most common. In Modern Dutch the position is now restricted to only *dan*. The adverb *so* in this function has totally disappeared (just as was noted above, it is no longer to be found after initial adverbs and adverbial phrases).

Variant 1 is preserved in almost frozen form in Modern Dutch after conditional clauses beginning with *al* (and after a particular group of concessive clauses as described later below).

Conjunctionless conditionals with verb-initial order were common to all older Germanic dialects (cf. Smith 1971) and presumably, therefore, to Proto-Germanic. In the modern dialects they retain an archaic and literary flavour, and understandably are not usually found in the spoken language. With this in mind, we might expect them to show conservative syntax. In this respect, *al*-conditionals are even less common (in modern German they have disappeared altogether) and appropriately preserve an even older syntax.

Modern Dutch, and Modern German, as both verb-second languages, not surprisingly show the inversion of subject and finite verb in those main clauses following subordinate clauses. Subordinate clauses can be considered complete units of thought; that is, in the sense that they can be substituted by one word (obviously, in another sense they are incomplete, as their logical dependence on the main clause implies). At the head of a sentence, then, and as part of that sentence, they should, therefore, condition the inversion of the following subject and finite verb. In this respect, remnants of earlier variant 1 and 2 orders (as in sentences 58 - 60 above) represent violations of this verb-second constraint still present in the language.(7) And the change to variant 3 order can be seen to have come about in both Dutch and German, then, on account of the need in these languages to now conform to the strict verb-second order in main declarative clauses.

Finally, there remains one construction to be mentioned; namely, that containing initial concessive dependent clauses. These seem to be common to all Germanic languages, and one would presume, therefore, to be of very old origin. In both Modern Dutch and Modern German (as illustrated by the following examples 56-58 and 59-60 respectively) these constructions preserve SVX order in the main clause.

56. Hoe hij ook werkt, *hij kon het niet doen*
'However (much) he works, he can not do it'

57. Wie er ook komt, *wij zullen hen kunnen helpen*
'Whoever comes, we will be able to help them'

58. Waar hij ook woont, *het zal hem goed gaan*
'Wherever he lives, it will go well for him'

59. Wer er auch ist, *ich kann nichts für ihn tun*
'Whoever he is/may be, I can do nothing for him'

60. Wie teuer das Bild auch ist, *ich will es doch kaufen*
'However expensive the picture is/may be, I want to buy it all the same'

This was also the order found in the constructions of the texts here. Concessive clauses were particularly common (for the most part beginning with *whosoever*), especially in those texts dealing with cures.

61. Die candida met castorien menghet ende nuttet *dat jaghet alle lamheit wt des menschen leden*
'Whoever mixes candida with castor and uses (it), that drives all weakness out of the person's limbs' (Ho. 1350)

62. Ende diese menghet mit rosewater ende dat drinke, *si droeghen die quade vuchticheit des hals*
'And who mixes them with rosewater and drinks that, they dry the bad moistness of the throat' (Ho. 1450)

For two reasons these constructions were not included in the results above.

i) They are formulaic in nature and this produces an almost fossilized word order, which survives into the modern Germanic languages today. Their frequent occurrence in some of the texts here would have given rise to misleading results, had they been included.

ii) For reasons which will become more clear later (Chapter 6, section 6.2) these constructions are reminiscent of a left-dislocation structure. Unlike other dependent clauses, they lie outside the sentence structure (the concessive relative in example 62, for instance, is syntactically independent of the main clause). In many respects they bear a close resemblance to paratactic constructions. For this reason they do not condition subject-verb inversion.

4.2 Subordinate Clauses

This section deals with the data on the word order patterns in subordinate clauses. Of crucial importance here is considered to be the position of the finite verb. Accordingly, four major patterns are distinguished, as defined by the position of the finite verb with respect to its subject and at least one other element of the sentence - SVX, SXV, XSV and XVS. As explained in Chapter 3, subordinators are not considered to be an element of the clause. Note that the patterns SXV and XSV do not necessarily imply that the verb is in final position; i.e. these orders include all positions of the verb beyond the second position.(8) More detailed statistics, however, are provided in Chapter 5 where the question of verb-final versus non-verb-final order in subordinate clauses is treated in depth. As in section 4.1 above, simple and compound tenses are not distinguished here. As they do not differ significantly with respect to the placement of the finite verb, it was found more convenient to collapse the tense distinction.

A fifth minor order is also included here; namely, VS(X). This covers clauses with subject-verb inversion immediately following the conjunction (or relative pronoun), with or without the presence of a third element. Here the inclusion of a third element is not crucial in determining the relative position of the finite verb and subject (for example, SXV versus SVX). This order VS(X) is kept distinct from XVS order for reasons which will be made apparent below.

Elements excluded from X are the same as given in section 4.1 above.

The following tables 7 and 8 present, then, the percentage figures for the word order patterns of all texts according to the above classifi-

cation. It should be pointed out that clauses are divided into three types - adverbial, complement *dat*-clauses and relative clauses (cf. description Chapter 3).

TABLE 7 Subordinate Clause Word Order

BRABANTISH

		SVX	SXV	XSV	XVS	VS(X)	Total
1300	adverbial	5%	95%	-	-	-	(58)
	dat-clause	10%	81%	7%	1%	1%	(71)
	relative	11%	88%	-	1%	-	(190)
1350	adverbial	20%	76%	4%	-	-	(104)
	dat-clause	35%	60%	4%	1%	-	(105)
	relative	11%	87%	1%	1%	-	(165)
1500	adverbial	6%	93%	1%	-	-	(114)
	dat-clause	-	93%	7%	-	-	(61)
	relative	6%	93%	1%	-	-	(99)
1550	adverbial	7%	81%	2%	-	10%	(163)
	dat-clause	1%	98%	1%	-	-	(89)
	relative	1%	98%	-	1%	-	(263)
1600	adverbial	4%	92%	4%	-	-	(176)
	dat-clause	3%	92%	3%	1%	1%	(93)
	relative	3%	93%	3%	1%	-	(165)
1650a	adverbial	3%	93%	4%	-	-	(76)
	dat-clause	2%	93%	4%	1%	-	(102)
	relative	2%	98%	-	-	-	(93)
1650b	adverbial	21%	69%	4%	1%	5%	(104)
	dat-clause	8%	81%	6%	5%	-	(63)
	relative	23%	71%	2%	3%	1%	(146)

TABLE 8 Subordinate Clause Word Order

HOLLANDISH

		SVX	SXV	XSV	XVS	VS(X)	Total
1300	adverbial	14%	81%	4%	1%	–	(88)
	dat-clause	18%	78%	4%	–	–	(45)
	relative	10%	88%	1%	–	1%	(159)
1350	adverbial	10%	84%	6%	–	–	(61)
	dat-clause	10%	70%	20%	–	–	(30)
	relative	6%	93%	1%	–	–	(178)
1450	adverbial	8%	84%	5%	–	3%	(37)
	dat-clause	–	94%	6%	–	–	(17)
	relative	7%	92%	1%	–	–	(130)
1500	adverbial	2%	95%	2%	1%	–	(130)
	dat-clause	4%	92%	4%	–	–	(82)
	relative	9%	90%	1%	–	–	(91)
1600	adverbial	4%	92%	4%	–	–	(80)
	dat-clause	3%	93%	4%	–	–	(91)
	relative	2%	95%	1%	2%	–	(208)
1650	adverbial	3%	89%	4%	3%	1%	(149)
	dat-clause	2%	86%	12%	–	–	(66)
	relative	3%	95%	1%	1%	–	(172)

It is convenient to collapse the above five word order patterns into three more general types; namely verb-initial (V/1), verb-second (V/2) and verb-third (V/3), where V/3 comprises all positions further back than second (i.e. this includes also verb-final (V/F) - as mentioned above the distinction is not crucial here).

The tables 9 and 10 below, then,present the results according to this new classification based on the verb position alone.

TABLE 9 Subordinate Clause Word Order

BRABANTISH

		V/1	V/2	V/3
1300	adverbial	-	7%	93%
	dat-clause	1%	11%	88%
	relative	-	12%	88%
1350	adverbial	-	20%	80%
	dat-clause	-	36%	64%
	relative	-	12%	88%
1500	adverbial	-	6%	94%
	dat-clause	-	-	100%
	relative	-	6%	94%
1550	adverbial	10%	9%	83%
	dat-clause	-	2%	99%
	relative	-	1%	98%
1600	adverbial	-	4%	96%
	dat-clause	1%	4%	95%
	relative	-	4%	96%
1650a	adverbial	-	3%	97%
	dat-clause	-	3%	97%
	relative	-	2%	98%
1650b	adverbial	5%	22%	73%
	dat-clause	-	13%	87%
	relative	1%	26%	73%

TABLE 10 Subordinate Clause Word Order

HOLLANDISH

		V/1	V/2	V/3
1300	adverbial	-	15%	85%
	dat-clause	-	18%	82%
	relative	1%	10%	89%
1350	adverbial	-	10%	90%
	dat-clause	-	10%	90%
	relative	-	6%	94%
1450	adverbial	3%	8%	89%
	dat-clause	-	-	100%
	relative	-	7%	93%
1500	adverbial	-	3%	97%
	dat-clause	-	4%	96%
	relative	-	9%	91%
1600	adverbial	-	4%	96%
	dat-clause	-	3%	97%
	relative	-	4%	96%
1650	adverbial	1%	6%	93%
	dat-clause	-	2%	98%
	relative	-	4%	96%

It is clear from the above tables 9 and 10 that V/3 order is without doubt the dominant word order for Middle Dutch subordinate clauses. But in no way can subordinate clause order be described as fixed. V/2 order, and to a lesser extent V/1 order represent viable alternative orders to express the same set of grammatical relations, but as we shall see below, they are motivated by contextual considerations rather than grammatical. The relative topicality of the contents of the clause can to a certain extent determine which of the possible word orders is chosen. And matters of emphasis are also important. These more marked word orders can serve to give focus to certain elements in the clause, or to the clause itself.

The appearance of V/1 order is fairly sporadic as the tables show. Figures range from 0/1% to as high as 10% in mid-16th century Brabantish, and are certainly higher in adverbial clauses than in the other clause types. And, as will become evident below, V/1 order can also be identified more strongly with specific conjunctions within the general class of adverbial subordinators distinguished here.

Figures for V/2 order are quite high for both dialects in the 14th century. From then on, however, there is a steady drop in the figures; that is, with the exception of the remarkably high percentage figures gained for the Brabantish text of 1650b (the reason for which will be discussed below).

The overall decrease in the frequency of occurrence of these marked secondary orders is what we would predict given the situation in modern-day Dutch. Now verb-final or near-to-final order has become the defining characteristic of subordination (the sort of material which can at times appear postverbally is discussed in Chapter 5). The trends suggested by the results in tables 9 and 10 reflect, then, the gradual grammaticalization or fixing of this order as a mark of subordination.

4.21 The classification of clauses

It remains now to consider the possible functions of V/1 and V/2 order in early Dutch subordinate clauses. But before this is done, it is important firstly to examine the question of clause classification. Whereas in Modern Dutch subordination and coordination are both clearly

distinguished in their syntactic behaviour (clearly identifiable conjunctions, for example, and grammaticalized word order) no such clear grammatical markers exist in Middle Dutch.[9] If the grammatical concept of subordination is so different in Middle Dutch from what it is today (i.e. with respect to the lack of reliable surface marking) can you be sure of ever assigning the correct clausal categories? Are there, then, no clear-cut criteria for identifying clause types in Middle Dutch or are we forced into making decisions which are purely arbitrary? If this is the case, what justification have I in setting up tables like those above which give the appearance of a clear-cut distinction between main and subordinate clauses when there exists, in fact, no such clear-cut formal distinction at this time?

In section 4.13 above we discussed certain problems which exist in distinguishing between conjuncts and coordinating conjunctions. The item *dan* was a case in point. Here we shall examine a number of other items which seem to fluctuate between 'pure' conjunction (subordinate or coordinate) and adverbial conjunct.

This problem should not be surprising for two reasons. For one, conjuncts, coordinators and subordinators all have the identical function of linking one or more linguistic units. As we discussed earlier in Chapter 3, all can express the same logical-semantic relationship between clauses. Secondly, historically both subordinating and coordinating connectives are derived from deictic adverbial (and pronominal) elements (cf. Braunmüller 1978 for a discussion on the formation of conjunctions in Germanic languages). Understandably, as a language develops reliable surface marking of clausal relationships like subordination (i.e. hypotaxis as defined here in Chapter 3), there will inevitably exist a 'fuzzy' period in the development where the grammatical status of certain connectives and of certain word order patterns is genuinely ambiguous. And this is the case in Middle Dutch. A number of adverbial (as well as pronominal) items are indeterminate with respect to the lexical category to which they belong. And as we have seen above, with a considerably freer word order than exists today, there are more than one possible word order pattern available to express the same set of grammatical relations. The fact that all we have at our disposal is a written language, without access, therefore,

to native speaker intuitions and without the additional clues of intonation and rhythm, for example, it is at times extremely difficult to assess the sort of grammatical relationship which is being expressed. While I may criticize Stoett's (1909) treatment of clause linking in Middle Dutch when he makes no distinction at all between coordinators, subordinators and conjuncts, at the same time I can certainly sympathise with it. All sentence connectives are conveniently described by Stoett together under the one heading "Samengestelde Zin" (its subtitle "Nevenschikkend Zinsverband" does imply a treatment of coordination although this is not, in fact, the case).

I will illustrate the problem with a case in point; namely, that of *gelijckerwijs*. Described in the *MNW* as an adverb ('similarly'), *gelijckerwijs* in all the examples provided by Verdam can be seen to effect subject-verb inversion when in clause-initial position. In the modern language it can be both adverb and conjunction, although it is now considered archaic. Verdam maintains that as a conjunction it is not found in Middle Dutch - "in het Middelnederlands is dit gebruik nog onbekend".(10)

From the Brabantish text of 1550, however, I give the following example which can only be understood as a subordinating use of *gelijckerwijs*. Of the present texts examined here, this text provides the first of such instances. Otherwise, *gelijckerwijs* behaves in accordance with Verdam's description.

63. Want *gelijckerwijse het dwalen ende missen in alle saken seer licht is*, so is dat in the kennisse der cruyderen alderlichtste
'For just as error and misjudgement is very easy in all things, so is it the easiest in the knowledge of herbs'
(Br. 1550)

Given an example like the following, however, is this to be taken as an adverbial or a subordinating use of *gelijckerwijs* (bearing in mind that this text quite commonly lacks the expected inversion of subject and verb after an initial conjunct; cf. section 4.13)?

64. Somtijdts oock worden de krachten van ettelijcke dinghen uyt den reuck bekent sonder de hulpe van den smaeck: *gelijckerwijs* het gebeurt met het mest ende andere

stinkende dinghen de welcke niemandt en bestaet to proeven oft te smaeken
'Sometimes also the strengths of some things are known from the smell without the help of the taste: as it happens with dung and other stinking things which nobody (can) bear to test or taste' (Br. 1550)

To add to the confusion, this particular conjunction together with *als* and *gelijck* which also introduce clauses of comparison and manner frequently show subject-verb inversion (as can the parallel English clauses!).

65. Nochtans vindt men daer oock sommighe die altijt ende ghedurigh groen blijven; *als* zijn alle die gene die in't Latin Coniferae Arbores ghenoemt worden
'Nonetheless, one finds there also some (trees) which always and constantly remain green; (such) as all those ones are which are called in Latin 'Coniferae Arbores'' (Br.1550)

66. Somtijdts slaet hij oock aen de keel ende brandt die bijnae *gelijck* is den smaeck van paper
'Sometimes it also hits the throat and almost burns it as the taste of pepper does' (Ho. 1650)

In addition, other potential cases of surface ambiguity are all those clauses which we discussed in section 4.13, as having an initial conjunct with following SV order. Examples like the following I have treated as main clauses which involve 'double topicalization' (cf. section 4.4).

67. Het is te duchten jae, *nochtans* lange messen en maecken geenen cock
'It is to be feared certainly; nonetheless long knives do not make the cook' (Br. 1600)

68. *Voorts* alle medicamenten sijn oft simpel oft worden van simpelen gemaekt
'Moreover, all medications are either simple or are made from simples' (Br. 1550)

69. *Nu* die rose, is een geswel van ... heet bloet, de huyt alleen belemmerende ende niet tot in het vleysch door-

dringende
'Now 'the rose' (skin disorder) is a swelling of hot blood, marring only the skin and not penetrating the flesh' (Ho. 1650)

There is one recent study of Middle Dutch subordination which would treat examples (67) - (69) above as examples of subordination. Van der Horst (1981a:166) tackles precisely the same questions which I have raised here; namely - "Kunnen we met zekerheid vaststellen wat in het middelnederlands een hoofdzin en wat een bijzin is? Is er trouwens al wel sprake van een (formeel blijkende) onderscheiding tussen hoofdzin en bijzin?" ('Can we with certainty establish what is a main clause and what is a subordinate clause in Middle Dutch? For that matter, is there even question of a (formally evident) distinction between main and subordinate clause?').

Van der Horst's solution in this paper is to distinguish clauses on the basis of the position of the finite verb alone (as is done in Modern Dutch). V/2 order signals main clauses, while subordinate clauses are characterized by any verb position beyond second position (i.e. anywhere from V/3 to V/F). It is the absence, then, of expected subject-verb inversion which indicates that the element at the head of a clause is a subordinator and not an adverbial conjunct; i.e. the finite verb can appear in any position except that immediately following the conjunction. Accordingly, all the examples (67) - (69) above must be considered subordinate clauses by this analysis, as would examples (63) and (64) headed by *gelijckerwijs*.

One problem which does worry me here is where the concept of coordination fits into this schema. *Gelijckerwijs*, together with items like *nochtans*, *nu* and *voorts* could just as easily be described, on the basis of word order, as coordinators. Another fact which does worry me with respect to Van der Horst's analysis is its inherent circularity which becomes very apparent when used in a study such as this one. When the aim here is to provide an account of any changes which have taken place within the overall development of word order patterns exhibited by the various clause types, how can the same word order patterns be used as the criterion for decisions on the classification of the clause types themselves? Van der Horst's analysis entails a

completely static conception of word order. It must by necessity ignore any variation which may occur in the word order patterns of the time. The fact is, Middle Dutch word order is more flexible than that of present-day Dutch (and studies like those by Smith 1971 on the primitive Germanic dialects indicate that the word order of Old Dutch would certainly have been very much more flexible). The syntactic expression of subordination or hypotaxis is still only a *developing* feature of Middle Dutch (a fact which Van der Horst himself alludes to), and the results of this present study demonstrate that it does not become an established fact of the language until at least the late 17th century, and probably later for Brabantish.

The fact is that there are sufficient unambiguous examples in the corpus of data here (as revealed by tables 7 - 10) to confirm that subject-verb inversion (VSX order) is by no means totally unknown in subordinate clauses. For one, there exist the subordinate clauses of comparison and manner mentioned above (these together with other adverbial clauses with VS(X) order are given in detail in section 4.23 below) and in addition, a number of relative clauses and *dat*-clauses like those below.

Relative Clauses

70. Mer oxizaker is dicker ende heeft alle die selve cracht *die heeft syroep acetose*
'But oxizaker is thicker and has all the same strength which acetose syrup has' (Ho. 1300)

71. Want alle sulcke wórden luyden in de sprac veul gemackelycker met een v...gelyck geschidt in't wordt vrec. *Om welcke reden behoortmen* ooc op't endt van de worden, in stede van x, te schryven cs (als stracs in stede van stracx)
'For all such words sound in (the) speech much easier with a *v*...just as happens in the word *vrec*. For which reason one ought also to write at the end of words, instead of *x*, *cs* (like *stracs* instead of *stracx*) (Br. 1650b)

Dat-clauses

72. Corteleke daer na in dandere nocturne soe saghic inden

gheeste *dat quam ene coninghinne ghecleedt met enen gulden clede*

'Shortly afterwards, in the second nocturn, (so) I saw in the vision that a queen came clothed in a golden dress' (Br. 1300)

73. ...soodat het zeewater geen macht oft cracht en heeft *dat*, als den duijckel ondervloijt, twelck maer twee oft drije voeten gewichts waeter is, *en mogen de zeebaeren* maer halff heure cracht in de dijcken gebruijcken

'...so that the sea water has no power or strength (so) that, when the 'duickel' (dam) flows under, which is only a weight of two or three feet of water, the sea barriers can only use half their strength in the dikes' (Br. 1600)

Admittedly, in terms of the overall results this is a rare and likely highly marked order, but the fact remains - this order is found in clauses which are unambiguously subordinate. Similarly, subject-verb inversion after clause-initial elements other than the subject is not such a strict word order pattern that the lack of it can be considered a reliable marker of subordination. Enough unambiguous examples of XSV main clauses were given in section 4.13 (any genuinely ambiguous examples I discarded) to support this. Of course, by Van der Horst's analysis, these are all *by definition* subordinate clauses just as (70) - (73) are *by definition* main clauses. It is clear that as it now stands, this analysis is totally unfalsifiable.(11)

What means are available then for reducing the surface ambiguity between clause types? Throughout this discussion, it should be clear that I have adopted the premise that the semantic concept of subordination (or to adopt a more neutral term, of clausal dependency) has always existed even in the earliest periods of Dutch. There must always have existed those clauses which could stand alone as complete meaningful units; i.e. totally independent of any other clause for their interpretation, and at the same time, those clauses unfinished in meaning and dependent on another clause if the whole is to constitute a complete meaningful expression. It is, therefore, assumed here that even without overt grammatical markers characteristic of hypotaxis, the logico-semantic relationship denoted by later hypotactic constructions was always present in the language.(12) In Chapter 3, for example, we

discussed the replacement of paratactic negation by a hypotactic expression involving the subordinator *tenzij/tenwaer* and V/F order. But all that has changed is the syntactic marking of the relationship between the clauses - the semantics has of course remained unchanged. Information from devices which would have also signalled the relationship such as rhythm and intonation are no longer available to us - punctuation is certainly not a reliable guide on these matters. It seems, then, that we have little choice but to rely on our logical interpretation of the clauses within their context to describe the relationship between them; i.e. the syntactic complex as a whole imposes an analysis even in the absence of overt indicators. Van der Horst (1981a:167) points out that there are of course dangers of misinterpretation. And I agree. There will always be the risk that semantic judgement could on occasion assign an incorrect clausal category. And there will always be the odd case (like (95) below) where the logical reading could go both ways - coordination or subordination. Nonetheless there is no alternative. To adopt a syntactic criterion as Van der Horst does (i.e. absence of expected subject-verb inversion as a marker of subordination), is to lose the diachronic perspective; namely, the development from pragmatic word order (i.e. where word order is an expression of the communicative function of the clause) to grammatical word order (i.e. where word order is an expression of the syntactic function of the elements involved).[13] In early Middle Dutch the same syntactic environment could effect a number of possible word order patterns. Next to the most expected order (which could be called the unmarked order) there existed the more marked orders with special pragmatic functions. As the texts here suggest, however, Middle Dutch was well advanced in the process of grammaticalizing its word order, and these more marked orders become more and more infrequent as the texts go on.

Nonetheless, there are remnants of earlier better days when these orders enjoyed a much wider distribution. In section 4.12 we discussed, for example, the use of V/F order in *ende*-clauses and other main clauses which could be described as "logically bound". This and the occasional V/1 order are reminiscent of the time when pragmatic factors played a much greater role in determining the word order of

the language. And in the remaining chapters of this study we will have occasion to see many more examples of this.(14)

To illustrate now the link between pragmatic factors and subordination (versus coordination) I give the following example of clauses headed by the connective *want*.

4.22 The function of *want*

The Modern Dutch connective *want* in function coincides exactly with English 'for' (although in use, *want* is very much more common and does not have the same formality which 'for' has now for English speakers). In function *want*, like 'for', is best described as a restricted coordinator since it can not conjoin subordinate clauses and can not show ellipsis of subject (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:552-559 and discussion of coordination in Chapter 3 above). Like a coordinator however, *want* has a fixed position at the head of the clause, can not be preceded by another conjunction, and the clause which it heads is sequentially fixed and can not be moved to precede the other clause to which it is conjoined. This description, however, does not coincide with that of *want* during the Middle Ages.

Historically *want* derives from an interrogative 'why?' (Old High German *hwanta*, Old Saxon *hwanda* from Proto-Germanic $*X^{w}an + \text{þ}an$; cf. Braunmüller 1978:104).(15) In the *MNW*, it is described as a conjunction (subordinating?, coordinating?), as an adverb and as a preposition.

As a clause connective in Middle Dutch, *want* does share a number of the characteristics of its modern successor, as the following examples show.

74. Ende dat is zere orbaerlike *want* et opent die verstoptheyt der herssen
    'And that is very necessary for it opens (up) the congestion of the brain' (Ho. 1300)

75. Ende hi sal kemmen sijn hoeft *want* daer trect uut den hoefde die vapore, die opgheklommen sijn inden slaep vander maghen
    'And he should comb his head for (there) out of the head the vapours come which have climbed up during sleep from the stomach' (Ho. 1300)

76. *Want* hoe goet die spise is neemtse die mensche boven maten, daer worden die manieren af van overtallicheit. Die eerst is...
'For however good the food is, if a person takes it in excess, from that kinds of surplus develop. The first is...' (Ho. 1300)

With respect to word order, *want*, in the above examples and similar ones, conditions the 'expected' main clause word order of the time; namely, verb-second word order. In this regard, *want* behaves like the modern-day coordinator.

The following examples show, however, that the *want*-clause in Middle Dutch was not sequentially fixed. On a number of occasions in the texts here, the main clause which provided the information for the *want*-clause followed it. In addition, *want* itself could be preceded by another conjunction, such as *ende* for example.

77. Ende *want* du coene dus coene best ende dus niet ne bughes soe heetti coenste
'And because you are brave, so brave and thus do not bend, therefore you are called the 'bravest'' (Br. 1300)

78. Ende *want* conservativa sanitatis dus edel is, so wil ic daer af beghinnen
'And because 'preservation of health' is so noble, (then) I will begin there' (Ho. 1300)

79. Mer die rosen besichtmen in apoteken, *want* mense best pulveren mach
'But roses one uses in pharmacy, because one can pulverize them best' (Ho. 1300)

80. Ende die int middel des vats is suldy leggen op een vat dat ghi houden wilt *want* dat den besten wijn is
'And that which is in the middle of the vat you should put in a vat which you want to keep because that is the best wine' (Br. 1500)

All the above clauses show a word order which is more usual for subordinate clauses; namely, verb-third order (or verb-final order). In fact, in all the examples where the *want*-clause heads the sentence,

this is the order found. Of course, in examples like the following it is impossible to tell -

81. Mer *want* dese syroep laxeert, salmen die bloemen ende die blade niet langher zieden
'But because this syrup purges, one should not boil the flowers and the leaves any longer' (Ho. 1300)

Note that an initial *want*-clause frequently involves a correlative construction as in examples (77) and (78) above. In these cases *want* behaves more like Modern Dutch *omdat*, the semantically equivalent subordinating conjunction.

In addition to this more usual causal meaning, the *MNW* gives a number of other meanings for *want*, ranging from the expression of purpose ('so that', 'in order that') through to that of various temporal relations ('whenever', 'until'). If the present texts are a reliable indication, however, these meanings are much less frequent. Sometimes it is difficult to establish the exact relationship expressed by *want*, as the following examples illustrate -

82. Dan salmen dat vel weder ontornen ende spolent in schoen water *want* alle die verwe of gaet
'Then one should unstitch the hide again and rinse it in clean water so that/until all the colour comes off' (Ho.1500)

83. So sal hijt doen vanden viere ende laetent staen *want* het laeu wart
'Then he should take it from the fire and let it stand so that/until it becomes warm' (Ho. 1500)

84. Als ghi blau verwen wilt soe suldy maken stercke looghe... Dan worpt daerna claer was in *want* dye looghe daer af claer wert
'If you want to dye blue, then you should make strong lye... Then throw clear wax in so that/because/until the lye becomes clear from that' (Br. 1500)

As an adverb the *MNW* glosses it as 'therefore'/'then'; i.e. clearly as a linking adverb or conjunct. The texts here contained no examples which could be described as an adverbial use of *want*. In fact the few

examples which the *MNW* provides could just as easily have been included with the entries under *want*, the conjunction.

85. *Want* spreect: ict zeere beghere
'Therefore (?) speak: I desire that very much'

86. Het was donker van der nachte, *want* hijt niet gesien en mochte
'It was dark during the night, therefore (?) he was not able to see it'

87. *Want* sy seit hem af besonder
'Then (?) she said to him especially'

The fact that most of the examples (85) - (87) translate readily by either English adverbs or conjunctions shows the sort of similarity which exists between the two as grammatical linking devices. The difference is reflected in distribution, however. Adverbs, even linking adverbs, can appear in a larger range of optional positions. Since *want* seems only to appear at the head of a clause, this suggests it is an adverb of a very restricted kind. Certain linking adverbs in English such as 'likewise', 'yet', 'so', 'hence' and 'besides' (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:526 for a more exhaustive list), and equivalent items in Middle Dutch, are also restricted, or virtually restricted to first position. Nonetheless, if *want* were a fully-fledged adverbial I would expect it to have occasionally triggered subject-verb inversion, since this is the preferred word order shown by sentence-initial conjuncts. The fact that *want* never appears with this word order makes its role as an adverb seem very doubtful. I suggest that examples like (85) - (87) above are also the conjunctional use of *want*.

I should also point out that *want* can also function as a preposition although no instances were found in the data here. The *MNW*, however, cites examples like the following -

88. Wacht *waent* an den dach
'Wait until on the day'

89. ... dat ic u ghehorsam wil wesen *went* ane mine doot
'... that I will be obedient to you until on my death'

To return to the connective use of *want*, except in cases where it is followed by the complementizer *dat* (more will be said about this use of *dat* below), it is not apparent that *want* belongs to any clear category of connective. But rather it seems to hover between being a 'pure' coordinator and 'pure' subordinator, and its clauses show word order characteristics of both.

Following Dunbar's (1979) study of the discourse pragmatics of modern and early German subordinate clauses, it was decided to examine the distribution of *want* in the light of possible pragmatic factors which might be conditioning these orders.

We have already discussed the function of verb-final order as a cohesive device, when we examined its occasional appearance in main clauses (especially after *ende*). As Dunbar concludes at the end of his study, V/F order serves to signal "that the discourse theme has continued unbroken from one clause to the next" (p.199). V/F order is, therefore, linked with old or topical material rather than assertive or new material which is more typical of V/2 or V/1 order. Like Kuhn's pragmatically "bound" clauses mentioned earlier, clauses with V/F order tend to contain information which is either presupposed from what has preceded in the discourse, or from what lies outside the discourse; i.e. logically presupposed. They are, therefore, more "bound" to the information contained in other clauses preceding them. V/2 (or the more unusual V/1) order is characteristic of main clauses or that part of the discourse which "pushes the communication forward" (Firbas 1966b:270 as quoted in Dunbar, p.10).

An examination of the distribution of these orders in *want*-clauses in the present texts reveal that it correlated precisely with these factors of assertion and presupposition.
Firstly, the *want*-clauses which effected V/F order, as already mentioned above, were either purely causal or temporal in meaning, both of which generally signify domination by a higher clause. *Want*-clauses which were initial only ever had this strictly causal meaning and were always V/F - there were no examples of V/2 *want*-clauses initially. It is with respect to these preposed clauses that the link with presupposed material is most evident. On every occasion they contained only material which had been mentioned previously in

the discourse. The following two brief extracts illustrate this.

90. Ander dinghe sijn die onsen lichaem altereren ende verwandelen van buten van node. Ende die sijn van ses manieren als onse die wise meysters scriven. Dat yerste is die lucht daer wi in sijn ende die ons omgaet. Dat ander die berueringhe van gaen, van riden van varen ... Dat derde is slapen ende waken. Dat vierde is spise ende dranc, Dat vijfte is volheyt ende ydelheyt des lichamen. Dat seste es toevalle der zielen sinne ... Ende *want die lucht die yerste is van desen sessen*, soe willic yerst van hueren regimen na der konst spreken

'There are other things which alter and change our body from outside by necessity. And these are of six kinds as the wise masters write us. The first is air in which we are and which surrounds us. The other (is) movements from walking, from riding, from travelling ... The third is sleeping and waking. The fourth is food and drink. The fifth is fullness and emptiness of the body. The sixth is images of the soul's senses ... And because air is the first of these six, (then) I will speak firstly about its regiment according to knowledge (i.e. of medicine)' (Ho. 1300)

91. Medicine is ghedelyt in tween: die een heyt conservativa sanitatis, daermen ghesonde mede behoudt, die ander heyt curativa egritudinis, dat is daermen die ziecte mede gheneset. Conservativa die salmen billic voersetten om haer weerdicheyt ... Conservativa is een edel konst, *want si doet den mensche leven ghesont totten uterste termine der outheyt* ... Ende *want conservative sanitatis dus edel is*, so wil ic daer af beghinnen

'Medicine is divided into two: (the) one is called 'preservation of health', with which one maintains (good) health, the other is called 'cure of disease'; that is, with which one cures illnesses. Preservation (that) one should rightly prefer on account of its worthiness ...

Preservation is a noble art, for it allows one to live in good health until the final phase of old age ... And because preservation is so noble, (then) I will begin with that' (Ho. 1300)

The above extract (91) contains an example of both V/F and V/2 *want*-clauses and clearly illustrates the functions of these respective word orders. The first V/2 clause contains only new information and is only weakly linked in any causal sense to the preceding clause. The second V/F *want*-clause contains no new information, and its cause-result relationship with the material in the main clause following is very strong. The two types of causal relationships expressed by *want* on both these occasions (i.e. the 'weak' causal which signifies more a simply notional rather than truly causal relation, and the 'strong' causal) coincide exactly with the two types which Behaghel (1897) distinguishes for the Old Saxon cognate of *want* - *huanda*; namely, that of an 'ideal' cause and that of a 'real' cause (cf. discussion also in Dunbar 1979:149).

The following extract contains an initial *want*-clause which contains information which is not presupposed from the discourse, but rather from knowledge of objects and events in the real world, at least as it appeared to those in the Middle Ages.

92. Van medicinen in vrouwen. *Want vrouwen vele crancker sijn dan die manne van naturen, ende die vrouwen in haerre dracht menighen anxt ende noet liden,* daerom hebben si menigherhande ziechede

'About remedies in women (title). Because women are much weaker than men by nature, and women during pregnancy suffer much anxiety and distress, therefore they have many kinds of illnesses' (Ho. 1300)

V/F *want*-clauses which followed rather than preceded the main clause on which they were dependent also contained topical, non-assertive information. The following extract is taken from the prologue to *The Book of Wonder* (1513). It follows immediately on from the table of contents.

93. Opdat een yeghelijc weten mach ende verstaen die hen van noode is ende profitelijc zijn mach aengaende veel schoone ende diversche consten die hier nae ... vervolgen sullen. Ende daer na ooc vele ghenoechlicke consten waer bi dit teghenwoordige boeck wel mach worden gheheeten het boec van wonder: *want men hierin vinden sal vele wonderlike consten*

'In order that everyone may know and understand what is necessary for them and (what) may be profitable concerning many fine and diverse skills which will follow hereafter. And afterwards many amusing tricks whereby this present book may wellbe called *The Book of Wonder*, because herein one will find many wonderful skills' (Br. 1500) (16)

To use Dunbar's term, both these initial and final V/F *want*-clauses can be described as "contextually bound" in the sense that their interpretation "can only properly be derived from the context" (p.11). The difference between V/F *want*-clauses like the above and those in initial position given earlier lies in the degree of "boundness" or dependency. Initial *want*-clauses express an even greater causal relation, and are logically more dependent on the information contained in the following main clause. This is supported by the fact that these structures are always accompanied by correlation which reinforces the cause-result relationship, i.e. the presence of a corresponding deictic element in the main clause following. It was Paul (1920) who first introduced the notion that clauses could show varying degrees of dependency; that is, irrespective of any overt grammatical marking of dependency which they might have. He also suggested (p.315) that the position of a clause within the sentence was related to its dependency (cf. also discussion Dunbar p.26-30). The fact that sentence-initial *want*-clauses are the more highly presupposed structures and are more "bound" to their context, is what would be predicted by the discourse strategy of placing topical material before its comment. These initial *want*-clauses, if you like, "set the scene" for what follows in the discourse.

The V/2 *want*-clauses are the least "bound" of all. But because they are linked in a sequence of clauses this means they are not entirely independent (Kuhn's (1933) notion of "bound" clause, for example, as

mentioned above, includes both subordinate clauses and main clauses in sequence). Nonetheless, the fact that they contain such a large amount of new information also means that they are not entirely dependent on the context for their interpretation. The following short extract illustrates this. The frequent use of *want* in passages like this is very reminiscent of the early practice of stringing together clauses with *ende*, even when sometimes only a very vague notional relationship exists between them. Such structures are very common in the prose of this time.

94. Men sal weten, dat die dinghe die onsen lichaem van buten altereren ende verwandelen sijn van tween manieren. *Want* et zijn sommighe dinghe die onsen lichaem alteren van buten niet van node, als beten van dieren ... ende die desen ghelijc sijn. Ende dese dinghe en begrijpt niet dat deel van medicinen datmen heett conservativa. *Want* si sijn sonder ghetal ende onghetermineert ende selke dinghen en begrijpt en gheen konst

'One should know that the things which alter and change our body from outside are of two sorts. For there are some things which alter our body from outside not out of necessity, like bites from animals and those which are like these. And the part of medicine which one calls 'preservation' does not understand these things. For they are without number and indeterminate and no knowledge understands such things'

(Ho. 1300)

It is very clear in the above extract how the V/2 *want*-clause can be seen to drive the discourse forward in contrast to V/F clauses given earlier. This dual function of *want* reflected in the two possible orders is very reminiscent of the behaviour of *ende* as briefly discussed in section 4.12 above. There we discussed how *ende* could effect V/F order (as it also did without much greater frequency in the earlier Germanic dialects).

The pragmatic distinction of new-old information which could be captured by *want* in Middle Dutch is now expressed formally in the language by two distinct conjunctions - *want*, the coordinator and *omdat*, the subordinator, which both preserve the original word orders V/2 and V/F respectively. Accordingly, *want*-clauses can no longer appear inititally

but are sequentially fixed like all coordinate structures. This development shown by *want* here parallels exactly that of *hwanta* in German (as discussed by Dunbar, Chapter 5).[17] The pragmatic distinctions which could once be captured by *hwanta* in early German and which coincide exactly with those of *want* are now expressed by two distinct conjunctions in Modern German, *denn*, the coordinator and *weil* the subordinator (also roughly corresponding to English 'for' and 'because'). Like *want* and *omdat* in Modern Dutch, *denn* and *weil* "both have the same semantic content, but ... their use is conditioned by pragmatic factors inherent at least to some extent in V/F and V/2 word order" (Dunbar p.177 and for a fuller discussion of *denn* and *weil* Chapter 3).

It should be pointed out that in the present texts there are no instances of V/F *want*-clauses after 1600 in Brabantish and after 1500 in Hollandish. Even though the frequency of occurrence of these *want*-clauses does fluctuate considerably from text to text, this disagreement of 100 years does represent a genuine difference between the two dialects. As the following table shows, *want*-clauses with V/F order were always much scarcer in Hollandish. The table below gives the number of V/F *want*-clauses out of the total number of *want*-clauses. Note that this does not include instances of *want* preceding another subordinate clause marker, such as the few examples of *want dat*-clauses.

TABLE 11 The proportion of V/F *want*-clauses

	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	10/21	9/28
1350	0/28	1/9
1450	-	0/4
1500	3/17	3/12
1550	0/27	-
1600	9/32	0/16
1650a	0/8	0/17
1650b	1/31	-

From the results given so far for both main and subordinate clauses, it seems that Hollandish has tended to grammaticalize its word order earlier than Brabantish in each of these environments. Brabantish shows on the whole a more flexible word order, and retains this flexibility longer than Hollandish. With respect to *want*-clauses, as late as 1600 Brabantish *want* could effect both V/F and V/2 orders, and it is the pragmatic factors just discussed which determine the choice. By early 16th century Hollandish, on the other hand, *want* has the status of a grammatical coordinator with fixed V/2 order.

I have dwelt for some time on the matter of *want*-clauses since *want* is one of the few connectives in Middle Dutch which shows such a clear link between pragmatic factors and word order. For this reason they are able to give us an insight into the way in which V/F and V/2 orders have come to be identified with both subordinate and main clauses respectively, to the extent that they are now the fixed grammatical markers of these clauses. The fact that the modern language retains the word order distinction means that this original link between V/F order and presupposed material, and V/2 order and assertive material is still preserved. As we shall see in Chapter 5, however, early indications in the language were that it was following the same path as English and that the word order distinction between main and subordinate clauses was, in fact, being lost. The interesting question is, of course - why did Dutch not continue along this path and generalize main clause word order like English? In Chapter 5 we will attempt to give some sort of answer to this question.

As we shall have further cause to discuss, the fixing of V/F order in subordinate clauses is symptomatic of the overall diminishing power of pragmatics as a motivating force behind the choice of word order patterns in the language. For every set of grammatical relations, there is now no longer the wide range of optional patterns available to formally capture, for example, the varying degrees of logical dependency between clauses as distinguished by Paul.

4.23 Clauses of manner and comparison

There remains one class of adverbial clauses to discuss more fully; namely, those clauses of manner and comparison. In English these are typically introduced by *as* (and to a certain extent *like* although

used as a subordinator, *like* is generally assumed to be non-standard). In Middle Dutch they include the subordinators *gelijck/gelijckerwijs* and *als*.

The percentage figures given in the above tables for non-V/3 subordinate clause order are in fact misleading when we take into account that the great majority of clauses are, in fact, these clauses of manner and comparison. This is especially evident with respect to the orders involving subject-verb inversion (i.e. XVS or VS(X)). In Brabantish, all but two of the clauses with these orders are introduced by *als* or *gelijck* (16 by *als*, 4 by *gelijck* and one by *omdat* and *daer*) and in Hollandish all but two (3 by *als*, 3 by *gelijck*, 1 by *so* and 1 by *nadien*).

The following examples involve subject-verb inversion immediately after the initial subordinator. Note that all, with the exception of example (95) are headed by *gelijck* or *als* (only a small representative sample of these clauses are given below as all are more or less the same in structure). With respect to example (95) there is a possibility that the clause headed *soe* is in fact a main clause. The text itself is very disjointed in this section, so it is extremely difficult to tell for sure. Nonetheless, I include the sentence here as *soe* understood as a subordinator gives a slightly preferable semantic reading. Two of the clauses were cited earlier; I repeat them here for convenience.

95. *Soe wandelt hem die zomer* bescoye dinen voeten warm, laet bloet ...
'As the summer changes, cover your feet warmly (with shoes), let blood ...' (Ho. 1450)

96. Van de heel-middelen moet men somtijts de sachste nemen als daer zijn de versachtende ende de verdrijvende; somtijts sterker, *gelijck zijn de suyverende*
'Of the remedies one must sometimes take the most gentle, (such) as the soothing and the cleansing are; sometimes stronger (ones), as the purgatives are' (Ho. 1650)

97. Nochtans vindt men daer oock sommighe die altijt ende ghedurigh groen blijven; *als zijn alle die gene* die in't Latin Coniferae Arbores ghenoemt worden

'Nevertheless, one finds there also some (trees) which always and constantly remain green; (such) as all those ones are which are called in Latin 'Coniferae Arbores''
(Br. 1550)

98. Somtijdts slaet hij oock aen de keel ende brandt die bijnae *gelijck is den smaeck van peper*
'Sometimes it also hits the throat and almost burns it as the taste of pepper does' (Ho. 1650)

99. So kan evenwel de selve ten deele gesteunt werden door middelen die het weelderigh groeyen van 't bloet verminderen, *gelijck zijn twee-drie-mael's jaers aderlaten ende koppen*
'So the latter can be partly helped by remedies which lessen the rich growth of blood, (such) as (the) two or three times a year blood-letting and bleeding does' (Ho.1650)

100. ...ende hir toe dinen de narvolgende Regalen. 1. Datmen de s moet schryven, darse luydt *gelijc luydt onse c*, alsmense noemt in den a.b.c
'...and hereto serve the following rules - 1. that one must write the *s*, where it sounds, just as our *c* sounds, as one calls it in the a.b.c' (Br. 1650b)

The VS order in the clause headed by *dâr* in example (101) below can be explained in terms of 'anacoluthon'. The introduction of a second subordinate clause into the *dâr*-clause interrupts the subordinate sense and the clause continues as a main clause.

101. Men mâct geen onderscheydt tusschen de apostrophe dí vór de letter moet stán, en de gene dí nár de letter moet staen, *dâr* alsse vor de letter stát, beteekent sy datter eenige letteren zyn achtergelaten
'One makes no distinction between the apostrophe which must go before the letter, and that which must go after the letter, because when it is before the letter, it means that a few letters have been left out there' (Br. 1650b)

On the basis of the given-new distinction, it should be clear from the above examples that all the subordinate clauses involve material which

is new. Considerations of 'weight' are also likely involved here since nearly all the examples (and this includes also those not cited here) contain the verb 'to be' and a subject which is heavy or syntactically complex in terms of additional modification by a following relative clause or participial construction. A number of the postposed subjects involve long lists of items, as many as twelve words in length (the average length of the sixteen postposed subjects, for example, in the Brabantish text of 1550 was seven words).

The following examples comprise all those clauses with XVS order. Once more the same factors as those above seem to be involved.

102. Maer meestendeel loopen de vochtigheden, die geswellen veroorsaken door open wegen, *als daer zijn aderen ende slagh-aderen*
'But for the most part, the fluids, which cause swelling run through open channels, (such) as there are veins and arteries' (Ho. 1650)

103. Van de heel-middelen moet men somtijts de sachste nemen als *daer zijn de versachtende ende de verdrijvende*
'Of the remedies one must sometimes take the most gentle as the soothing and the cleansing are' (Ho. 1650)

104. So salmen suyverende middelen gebruycken, *gelijck daer zijn de pimpinelle gulden-roede, kleyne santorye, alssen boonkens-hoolworte, en andere...met honigh van rosen, op wiecken gestrecken....*
'The one should use cleansing remedies (such) as (there) are pimpernel, golden-rod santuri, absinthe, comfrey and others...with honey of roses, spread on lint...' (Ho. 1650)

105. Swacke deelen werden hier verstaen... *gelijck daer is de huyt, ende de klieren, die los ende ydel zijn*
'Weak parts are here understood... (such) as the skin is and, swellings, which are loose and hollow' (Ho. 1650)

106. Ende *als gesmouten is dy bersteen*, soe salment syghen doer een doeck
'And when the amber has melted, (then) one should strain it through a cloth' (Ho. 1500)

107. De y moeter by-gevoeght worden, *om dat in hâr gevonden wordt het wesen ende den ârdt van de vocalen*
'The *y* must be added there, because in it is found the essence and the nature of the vowels' (Br. 1650b)

108. Dese purgacy coemt ... toe als si xiiii jaer out sijn of een luttel min of meer, *nadien dat in hem is hitte of coude*
'This purging occurs when they are 14 years old, or a little more or less, according to whether there is hot or cold in them' (Ho. 1300)

The contents of all the above subordinate clauses contain a high degree of new information; that is, with the notable exception of example (106). The part of the discourse leading up to the *als*-clause in (106) is all concerned with the procedure of melting the amber (*...ende laten dat syden also langhe dat di bernsteen ghesmouten ys* - '...and let that boil until the amber has melted'). In terms of the new-old information distinction the subject-verb inversion in (106) is inexplicable, since the subject is highly presupposed and would otherwise normally appear initially. In cases like this the only explanation is one of focus - for some reason the writer may have wanted to focus special attention on the subject here. For the rest, however, the inverted subject-verb order is what we might predict for material which is highly assertive. Examples (102) - (105) parallel exactly those examples (96) - (99) given earlier, except these contain an initial locative adverb *daer* (later to become the characteristic 'dummy' subject *er* in these construction types). These types of comparative clauses closely resemble presentative/existential structures and, therefore, not surprisingly show VS order. It is interesting that the parallel English comparative clauses also show a tendency towards subject-verb inversion.

109. The present owner is a keen art collector, *as were several of his ancestors* (cf. Quirk et al. 1972:755)

This inverted word order is no longer possible, however, in the equivalent Modern Dutch comparative clauses; that is, with the exception of *als daar zijn....* which preserves these sorts of constructions in almost fossilized form.

Note that the 'principle of end weight' is also at work here, and is most clearly exemplified in example (104). For rhythmic reasons, and most certainly for ease of perception it is preferable for speakers/writers to place the lighter verbal element (in these cases usually the verb 'to be') before the very much 'heavier' subject.

The range of conjunctions which effect SVX order is much wider than those above, although once more *gelijck* and *als* are the likeliest candidates (in these cases, however, *als* often has more a temporal sense 'when' as example (106) above, or even more frequently a conditional sense 'if' as in examples (110) and (111) below). The following, then, are some examples of this ordering.

110. Ende *als ghi siit versekert van appostumeeren* ... soe seldi den sieken doen eten ende doen drincken goede spisen als goede pappen metter melc ... ende goeden dranck als wiin ende bier
'And if you are sure of swelling ... (then) you should make the patient eat and drink good food like good porridge with milk and good drinks like wine and beer' (Br. 1350)

111. Nochtan vijntmen luttel yemant die meyster van medicinen begheren *als si sijn ghesont*
'However, one finds scarcely anybody who desires a master of medicine if they are healthy' (Ho. 1300)

112. Daer wert die natuer minste van ghequetst *als Ypocras seit in den boec van Aforismen*
'From that the nature is the least hurt as Hippocrates says in the book of *Aphorismen*' (Ho. 1300)

113. Ghi sult van dien boom sniden ... *so dat die gheheele lengde si twee cubiten oft meer*
'You should cut from the tree ... so that the whole length is two yards or more' (Br. 1500)

114. Daerna seldi hebben plaesteren ... alsoe breet ende alsoe groot *alsoe dat si bedecke die wonde*
'Afterwards one should have plasters so broad and so large that they cover the wound' (Br. 1350)

115. Ende *om des wille dat dese cameren siin van menigher hande complexien* soe behoeven si menigher hande remedien
'And because these chambers are of many kinds of humours (then) they need many kinds of remedies' (Br. 1350)

116. Sommige nochtans schrijven de tweede en de derde wórden en dírgelijcke, met een dobbel e, mar qualijc, *gelijc wy sullen bewijsen in't 8 Capittel*
'Some, however, write the second and the third words and similar with a double *e*, but wrongly, as we will demonstrate in the eighth chapter' (Br. 1650b)

117. Vocalen oft self-klinckers zijn, letteren dí klincken of luyden dór hun selven, ende doen de consonanten of me-klinkers luyden. *Soo dat consonanten oft me-klinkers*, sijn letteren dí dór hun selven alleen nít en luyden
'Vowels or 'auto-sonants' are letters which sound or ring by themselves, and make the consonants or 'con-sonants' sound, so that the consonants or 'con-sonants' are letters which alone do not sound by themselves' (Br. 1650b)

118. Jeghen hoest saltu dwaen dijn planten van dinen voete mit wermen water, ende daerna wrijfse wel mit soute biden viere *soe dat si verwermen van binnen*
'For (a) cough you should wash the soles of the feet with warm water, and afterwards wipe them well with salt by the fire so that they warm from within' (Ho. 1450)

Many more examples of this order (including those in relative and *dat*-clauses) will be given in the following Chapter 5. To a certain extent the same pragmatic factors as we discussed with respect to *want*-clauses also trigger the V/2 order in examples like the above. But as we shall see in Chapter 5, the motivation for this order (as well as the variant SXVX order which has not been distinguished here) can be seen to involve an extremely complex interaction of factors which cause material to appear after the verb. These also include lexical considerations which, as we will see, are partly responsible for extremely high percentage figures shown by the Brabantish text of 1650b for SVX order (cf. Tables 7 and 9).

I have concentrated here only on adverbial clauses to illustrate the various word orders, V/1, V/2 and V/3. The interesting fact that *dat*-

clauses, relative clauses and adverbial clauses all show varying tolerances of the more marked orders, V/1 and V/2 will be discussed below in section 4.3 and also in even greater detail in Chapter 5.

I should perhaps point out, however, that the sort of surface ambiguity problems which exist for adverbial clauses also exist for the relative clauses (there was no real ambiguity with respect to *dat*-clauses - it was always clear when *dat* was the demonstrative pronoun and when it functioned as the complementizer).(18) It is generally assumed that the relative clause has its origin in conjunct clauses, with relative pronouns being historically derived from demonstrative pronouns.(19) The problems arise in the transition stages when the pronouns seem to occupy the syntactic position of both demonstrative and relative. The following example illustrates this.

119. Ghi selt nemen enen doerslach *die*? sal goet ende scarp siin
'One should take a chisel which should be good and sharp'
or
'One should take a chisel. This should be good and sharp'
(Br. 1350)

When the clause is embedded in a superordinate clause it is a clear example of relativization. But when the clause appears on the periphery of the main clause (as in example 119), both interpretations are possible. Where the context provides no clues as to the grammatical relationship and the sentences are genuinely ambiguous, I have excluded them from the sample. Most of the ambiguous cases occur in would-be subject relative clauses, when the potential relative pronoun is also the subject of the clause.

4.24 The formation of conjunctions

Finally, I want to mention two potential ways in which Middle Dutch was able to overcome the sort of surface ambiguity which existed between formally identical function words (such as we saw for certain adverbials and subordinators). Unfortunately, neither were employed with any consistency in the language which is why we still have the sorts of problems discussed above.

The clearest means of signalling a subordinating sentence connective was by the addition of the complementizer *dat*. This was and still is a very common means of forming conjunctions in all the Germanic languages (cf. Braunmüller 1978). In Dutch, *dat* can be seen to have combined with prepositions, nouns and deictic pronominal and adverbial phrases to give rise to a great many new conjunctions in the language (*seder(t) dat* now *sedert* 'since' (preposition + *dat*); *terwilen dat* now *terwijl* 'while' (adverbial phrase + *dat*); *in deme dat* now *indien* 'if' (deictic noun phrase + *dat*); *soe dat* now *zodat* 'so that' (adverb + *dat*). As can be seen from these few examples, the original conjunction marker *dat* itself either eventually deletes (or contracts) or else remains intact. In Modern Dutch, as in Modern English, you can find pairs like the following with or without deletion of the *dat* marker - *voordat/voor* 'before', *eerdat/eer* 'before', *nadat/na* 'after' and *totdat/tot* 'until'. Conjunctions like *omdat* 'because' and *opdat* 'so that' preserve it still.

It is by the addition of *dat*, then, that predications of the above sort are able to take on the function of conjunction. *Dat* unambiguously marks them as subordinating. The process of phonetic reduction often reduces them then to one-word conjunctions. Braunmüller terms this development univerbation. For example, a whole prepositional phrase like *ter wilen dat* or *in het/voor het geval dat* is able to function as a sentence connective by way of *dat*. By phonetic reduction noun inflections are lost to give *ter wil/wijl dat* and later *terwijl (dat)* and articles are contracted (*voor 't geval (dat)*). Further univerbation can mean the deletion of *dat* (cf. Braunmüller 1978:109-111). And this process is still productive in Modern Dutch. We might expect for example, subordinating phrases like the following to show the "conjunctional drift" towards the same sort of univerbation of sentence connectives as described by Braunmüller - *tegen de tijd dat* 'by the time that', *ondanks het feit dat* 'in spite of the fact that', *met dien verstande dat* 'on the understanding that' and *gezien het feit dat* 'as' (cf. Donaldson 1981:194 for a more exhaustive list).

Finally, a second means of reducing surface ambiguity can be seen in the form of an overt lexical split. Two formally identical but lexically different items, for example, are split into two then formally distinct

syntactic categories. We have already discussed this process with respect to items *toch* and *doch* (section 4.13). Sometimes the distinction can be purely graphemic like the introduction in the 16th century of the spelling *daß* for the conjunction 'that' in German, versus the corresponding demonstrative pronoun *das*. The difference can also be phonological such as the English conjunction and pronoun, /ðət/ and /ðæt/ respectively.

Such a split took place between *doen*, the conjunction 'when' and *toen*, the adverb 'then'. Like *toch* and *doch*, this distinction likely began as a Sandhi phenomenon (cf. section 4.13). By the 17th century however, it had become a grammatical distinction. Once more, we can turn to Bolognino (Brabantish text 1650b) for information here. In the chapter entitled *Van verscheyden wórden dí qualyc onder een gesammelt worden* ('On different words which are wrongly confused'), Bolognino complains that writers did not use this distinction correctly.

> "Dese wórdekens, doen en toen: dár nochthans dese twee wórdekens beteekenen het selve dat in't Latyn beteekenen cùm en tum, en dárom moetmen seggen en schryven, doen ic dat gedán had, toen de ick dat"
>
> ('These little words, *doen* and *toen*: because, however, these two little words mean the same as cum and tum in Latin mean, and, therefore, one must say and write - *doen ic dat gedân had, toen de ick dat*)'
>
> (p.35)

The differentiation of *doen* and *toen* did not, however, continue in the language, and *toen* now represents both the conjunction and the adverb in Modern Dutch.

4.3 Conjunct clauses

So far we have dealt only with clauses containing an overt subject. With only a few exceptions, most instances of omission of the subject occur in conjoined clauses (not including the first of the sequence), or what here have been termed conjunct clauses (marked by either a coordinating conjunction or nothing).[20] In general, the deleted subject is coreferential with the subject in the preceding clause, as in the following examples.

120. Ende ic nam miin taste ende *stacse in die wonde*
'And I took my probe and put it into the wound' (Br. 1350)

121. Oec en sal hi niet slapen ghescoyt inden zomer of in heten tiden, want daer af slaen quade roecke op *ende verdonckeren dat ghesien*
'Also he should not sleep with shoes in summer or in hot times, for bad odours rise up from there and obscure the vision' (Br. 1300)

122. Onghemate bliscap trect dat herte ende *doet haestelike sterven.* Ghemaette bliscap sterct dat ende *behoet die ghesonden*
'Unmeasured pleasure strains the heart and quickly causes death. Measured pleasure strengthens that and maintains (good) health' (Ho. 1300)

123. Doen querteleerde ic hem ende *ontdecte hem dat hersenbecken* ende *vant een stuc beens ontween*
' Then I trepanned him and uncovered his cranium and found a piece of bone split in two' (Br. 1350)

The following examples show, however, that the deleted subject need not be of the same function as its coreferential item in the preceding clause, which in these two cases is an object.

124. Hi haelde *mi* ende *ginc met hem in die taveerne*
'He fetched me and (I) went with him into the tavern' (Br.1350)

125. *Olye van fyolen* maecmen als rose-oly. Ende *heeft alle die macht die rose-oly heeft*
'Oil of violets one makes like rose-oil, and (it) has all the same strength which rose-oil has' (Ho. 1300)

Examples such as these where deletion does not take place under identity of function are not grammatical in Modern Dutch. These will be dealt with in detail in Chapter 6 where they will be shown to follow from a basic property of Middle Dutch sentence structure which is no longer functional in the modern language. For the moment then, no more will be said about these structures.

In order to examine the word order of conjunct clauses, I do not see any point in reconstructing the syntax of these clauses in terms of

the patterns of the other clause types as Bean (1983:Chapter 5) has done. If the subject is not present in the surface structure, there seems little point in a study such as this to assume a probable order for it - any decisions as to the position of the subject must be totally arbitrary. Accordingly, I have examined only the position of the verb with respect to one or more of its adjuncts. This gives three basic orders, then - XV, VX, XVX. The following two tables show the frequency of these three orders in 'independent' conjunct clauses; i.e. those conjoined to main clauses.

TABLE 12A Independent Conjunct Clauses

BRABANTISH

	XV	VX	XVX	
1300	3%	87%	10%	(31)
1350	3%	93%	4%	(29)
1500	-	(7)	-	(7)
1550	6%	86%	8%	(49)
1600	-	89%	11%	(18)
1650a	-	100%	-	(12)
1650b	-	(5)	-	(5)

TABLE 12B Independent Conjunct Clauses

HOLLANDISH

	XV	VX	XVX	
1300	-	100%	-	(41)
1350	-	100%	-	(37)
1450	-	100%	-	(51)
1500	9%	79%	12%	(34)
1600	-	91%	9%	(11)
1650	-	92%	8%	(13)

The dominant order for 'independent' conjunct clauses is, as you would predict on the basis of the dominant main clause order, VX (examples 120 - 123 above). In general, elements which occur preverbally are adverbial as the following examples show -

126. Dit water blusset den brant ... ende *oeck op hete seren geplaestert vercoelt wael*
'This water relieves the burning ... and also plastered on hot sores cools well' (Ho. 1500)

127. Dyt water ys seer laxatiff ende *nuchteren gedroncken werlicht den mensche van alle cortze*
'This water is very purging and drunk regularly relieves the person of all fever' (Ho. 1500)

In all texts, there are only three examples of a preverbal object, of which the following is one.

128. Heet blusset seer alle branden ende *alle ouel droghet* ende *oeck geneset*
'It relieves all burning (illnesses) and dries up all sicknesses and also cures' (Ho. 1500)

The following tables give the order in 'dependent' conjunct clauses; i.e. those which are conjoined to subordinate clauses. Since the overall number of these clauses is so low, it is not possible to distinguish them according to the type of subordinate clause which precedes them.

TABLE 13A	Dependent Conjunct Clauses			
	BRABANTISH			
	XV	VX	XVX	
1300	67%	24%	9%	(21)
1350	68%	21%	11%	(28)
1500	(5)	-	(1)	(6)
1550	84%	11%	5%	(61)
1600	58%	26%	16%	(31)
1650a	73%	7%	20%	(15)
1650b	43%	21%	36%	(14)

TABLE 13B	Dependent Conjunct Clauses HOLLANDISH			
	XV	VX	XVX	
1300	73%	27%	-	(11)
1350	53%	47%	-	(17)
1450	(5)	(2)	(1)	(8)
1500	46%	27%	27%	(11)
1600	50%	8%	42%	(12)
1650	100%	-	-	(23)

In general, the number of clauses contained in the above two tables is too low to draw any definite conclusions from the results. As we shall discuss more fully in Chapter 5, however, it does seem that there is a greater tendency for material to follow the verb in these subjectless clauses than in the dependent clauses preceding them. The following are examples of each of the three orders.

129. Ende is openbaer mit experimenten, dat onzuverheit der lucht den sinne plompt, *der zielen sinne begipen belet, huer vonnisse ende huer oerdeel verdonckert, huer ghrepens verdwaest, vroetscap minret*
'And it is obvious from experiments that impurity of air dulls the wit, hinders the comprehension of the soul's thinking faculty, obscures its wisdom and its (good) judgement, makes for foolish thinking, decreases intellect' (Ho. 1300)

130. Voghel die inden water zwimmen ende *hem daer gheneren* en sijn nyet goet
'Birds which swim in the water and feed there are not good' (Ho. 1300)

131. Die tantsweer comt somtijt van heter humoren, somtijt van couden humoren ... somtijt van scarpen bloede dat om den tanden leit ende *maect den sweer*
'Toothache comes sometimes from hot humours, sometimes from cold humours ... sometimes from sharp blood which runs around the teeth and makes the sore' (Ho. 1350)

132. Maer dat noch meer es si segghen dat si enighe cameren ghedeelt hebben van den breijne ende *hebbense weder in gheleit ende ghevult ende ghenesen*
'But what is more, they say that they have separated some chambers of the brain and have placed them in again and stopped (them) up and healed (them)' (Br. 1350)

133. Daerna doet in die wonde wieken van moruwen liwaede ende daer na plaesteren van deser medecinen die zeer goet es ende *wel mondificeert ende suvert die wonde*
'Afterwards put plugs of soft linen into the wound and then plasters of this medicine which is very good and cleans well and purifies the wound' (Br. 1350)

134. Jeghen die die dicke walghet of *siec is inder borst*, hi stote die blader vander betonien
'For one who is often nauseous or is sick in the chest, he should crush the leaves of betonic' (Ho. 1450)

As will be clear in Chapter 5, it is a very complex interrelation of many different factors which can trigger the placement of material after the verb. And it is because of the involvement of so many factors that the results in tables 12 and 13 are so varied. But we will leave further discussion of these until later in Chapter 5.

4.31 Features of clause conjunction

To conclude, I want to examine a few features concerning the conjoining of clauses in Middle Dutch. Although these involve clauses with overt subjects, I have included them in the discussion on conjunct clauses for reasons which will be made obvious below. The seven different structures discussed, together with conjunct clauses can be seen to follow from the same principle of discourse cohesion.

i) Conjoined conjunctionless conditionals

While the initial clause of a string of conjunctionless conditionals (or those with the intensifier *al*) has initial subject-verb inversion, all the clauses following show verb-final (or near-to-final) order. The following examples illustrate.

135. Ende geeftment enen wijf drincken ende *sy maget waer* ten solde haer nyt scaden, ende droghe sy een kynt sy solde thans spyen. Ende droghe sy gheen kynt, ende *sy gheen maghet en ware*, sy solde vluchtes spyen
'And if one gives it to a woman to drink and (if) she is a virgin, it should not harm her, and if she is carrying a child, she will immediately vomit. And if she is carrying no child, and (if) she is not a virgin, she will quickly vomit' (Ho. 1500)

136. Waer een man gescoten myt enen pyle ende *hem dat yser ynt lyf bleue*, ende *het stake ynt been of ynt vleesche*, ende *nyt wt een mochte*, machtmen maken eyn plaester van werck ende nettent dar yn dyt water...
'If a man is shot with an arrow, and the arrow head remains in the body, and it sticks in the bone or in the flesh, and can not (come) out, one can make a plaster out of lint and wet it there in this water...'
(Ho. 1500)

ii) Concessive relatives

Very close to the above structures are those like the following where clauses are conjoined to initial concessive (indefinite) relatives. Although there is no overt conjunction, these conjoined clauses also have verb-final (or near-to-final) word order.

137. Wat vrouwe so met kinde gaet ende *dat kind stervet onder haer* ende *si dat sop drinket*, so geneset si des doets kints
'Whatsoever woman goes with child, and the child dies within her, and she drinks the juice, then she recovers from the dead child' (Ho. 1350)

138. Wyt evel heft ende *mens nyt en wetet* hy neem boxshorn...
'Whoever has epilepsy and one does not know it, he should take goat's horn...' (Ho. 1500)

Although these clauses have no overt conjunction, they are clearly logically dependent on the following main clause with which they have a conditional-concessive relationship.

iii) Subordinate clauses

It is not uncommon for conjoined subordinate clauses to show verb-second order.

139. Ende alst roet wart ende *et ruket na den rosen, soe eest ghenoech*
'And when it becomes red and it smells of roses, then it is enough' (Ho. 1300)

Unfortunately with constructions like the above, you can not be sure to what degree the verb-second word order is conditioned by the fact that the clause is conjoined, or whether it simply reflects the natural tendency at this time for material to appear postverbally in subordinate clauses, especially adverbial phrases like the above (cf. Chapter 5). Nonetheless, the data here suggests that these conjoined clauses do show a greater tendency towards verb-second order.

iv) *Dat* as a subordinate clause marker

In section 4.24 we saw how the addition of *dat* to prepositional and noun phrases marked them as unabiguously subordinating and led to the formation of new conjunctions. In strings of subordinate clauses it is also not uncommon to find *dat* functioning as an 'empty' conjunction marker where it can continue the meaning of the first more marked conjunction (marked in the sense of semantically more specific) in the sequence. The following example illustrates this practice or what is now usually referred to in the literature as "conjunction reduction" (Kiparsky 1968b).

140. Want als een geswel aen't sweren komt, ende dat de etter ... niet terstont uytgelaten en wert, soo krijght hij een scherpe ende in-etende kracht
'For if a swelling appears on the sore, and (if) the discharge ... is not immediately released, then it gets a sharp and erosive strength' (Ho. 1650)

The above constructions are discussed in a recent article by Van der Horst (1981c); that is, with the exception of (ii) which I have included here because it seems to be a parallel case. All these constructions he classifies in a way that they can be seen to follow from the same underlying principle; namely, the practice of linking a less specified, neutral structure to a more specific and marked one. The

unmarked structure carries on the meaning and function of the first by virtue of the fact that it is conjoined to it. Although his arguments need not concern us here, Van der Horst also maintains that constructions containing conjunct clauses (i.e. with deleted subjects) have their origin in this principle, by virtue of the fact that clauses with overt subjects were originally the more marked (i.e. at a time when surface subjects were not obligatory; cf. Chapter 6). They, then, can be seen to reflect the same conjunction of marked and unmarked structures.(21) I mention Van der Horst's ideas here for the reason that they seem to account also for the following constructions which are very frequent in the texts here.

v) An imperative form followed by an infinitive

It is very common that strings of orders begin with an initial singular imperative form, but continue with infinitive forms of the verb. In Modern Dutch (as in Modern French and German), infinitives can be used as imperatives in general contexts, where there is no specific one person addressed, such as instructions to the public (German - *Nicht hinauslehnen*!). These general imperatives can be seen then, as following the more marked imperative form in examples like the following.

141. *Nem* enen soffier ende *bestricke* dat gheswel daer mede,
ende *dwaent* in melc ende *drinken* dat melc
'Take a sapphire and cover the swelling with it, and wash it in milk and drink the milk' (Ho. 1350)

142. *Nem* rode slec ende wijn ende *legse* in een coperen vat
ende *deckent* wel ende *latent* daer in acht daghe ende
saluen den hals daermede
'Take red mud and wine and put them in a copper vat and cover it well and leave it there eight days and salve the neck with it' (Ho. 1450)

vi) Modal + infinitive followed by subjunctive or imperative forms

In the following example the conjoined form must be understood as the imperative.

143. Jeghen sproeten *salmen nemen* sauel ende *wast u* aensicht
'For spots one should take sand and wash your face with it' (Ho. 1450)

In examples like the following it is not clear, although the subjunctive is more likely.

144. ... *salmen nemen* wortel vander fiolen ende *knause* onder sijn tande ende *swelge* dat sap
'... one should take the root of the violet and chew it under his teeth and swallow the sap' (Ho. 1450)

145. Jeghen sweeren *salmen nemen* rogghen meel een hant vol ende sout ende wijn ende *knede* dit te gader
'For sores one should take rye meal, a hand full, and salt and wine and knead this together' (Ho. 1350)

146. Die siec is *salmen nemen* die wortel van witten mancop ende *siedse* in watere ende *dwaet* dan daermede sijn hoeft
'Whoever is sick one should take the root of white poppy and boil it in water and wash then his head with it' (Ho. 1350)

Note that in the above examples and in example (147) below, the conjoined verb forms could also be due to the deletion of the *-n* of the infinitive *-en* ending, which is very common in these early texts. Nonetheless, in examples like (147) the object(including object pronouns) <u>always</u> follows the verb form,which would be a very unusual position if it were an infinitive (cf. Chapter 5 for discussion). For that reason, it is very difficult to know what these strings of verb forms are - in the following they could be infinitive imperative forms.

147. Dit *salmen stampen* al te stucken, ende *ghieten* daerop witten wijn ende *uriuent* wel ende *doen* in een glas ende *smere* daer mede
'This one should crush into pieces, and pour white wine on it and rub it well and put in a glass and spread with it' (Ho. 1450)

It is tempting to call all these examples simply scribal errors. They occur with such frequency in the texts here, however, that I am loth to do this. I include them here for the reason that they are problems and because they do seem to reflect also the same marked + unmarked sequences as discussed above.

vii) Subjunctive followed by indicative forms

It is not uncommon in the texts to find sequences of clauses where the initial verb of the sequence is in the subjunctive mood and all verbs following are in the indicative. The main difficulty here is sometimes distinguishing indicative forms from subjunctive forms with enclitic object pronouns.

148. Hij *neem* kerse ende *stampe* die ende *neemt* dat sap ende alsoe vele gheytenre melc ende *drinct* dat 'He should take cherries and crush those and take the juice and the same amount of goat's milk and drink that' (Ho. 1425)

149. Hij *neme* honich ende bier ende *scumtet* ende *neme* ghemale peper dair toe ende *siet* dat ende *maket* ghelijcken als een lectuarie ende *eet* dair enen lepel vol of
'One should take honey and beer and skim it and add normal pepper to it and boil that and make it like an electuary and eat a spoon full of it' (Ho. 1425)

Like the use of anaphora and elipsis, the above structures have in common the fact that they can be understood as cohesive devices of discourse; i.e. like deleted elements, the meaning and function of the unmarked forms can be recovered from what has preceded them in the discourse.

4.4 The pragmatic aspects of Middle Dutch word order

Although this is not intended to be a systematic functional study, this section does provide a brief analysis of certain pragmatic aspects of Middle Dutch word order. I should point out firstly, that my use of pragmatics here corresponds exactly with Dunbar's use (1979: Chapter 1); that is, the "study of utterances within their context; i.e. the effect of discourse context on the grammatical structure of the clause unit" (P.2). Throughout this study I will have reason to refer to a progression in Middle Dutch from *pragmatic word order* to *grammatical word order*. Both these functions of word order are distinguished by Thompson (1978) as the basis of a typology of languages. The following quotation taken from this work explains these two different functions as they are to be used in this present

study.

> "There are basically two ways in which languages can utilize the linear arrangement of predicates and their arguments: pragmatically or grammatically. That is, a language may either use this order pragmatically to signal which parts of the sentence convey old vs. new information, or they may use this order to signal some essentially grammatical information, such as aspectual information, what the grammatical relations in the sentence are, whether the sentence is a question, or whether it is a subordinate clause"
>
> (p.19-20)

Due to the plethora of different definitions which have arisen for concepts like topic/comment, topicalization, left/right-dislocation, focus etc..., I find it necessary to provide a brief explanation of these terms as they will be used here and throughout this study. In no way should the definitions I have adopted be controversial, for they seem in general to coincide with those most commonly assumed in the literature.

Topic

A certain degree of confusion surrounds this term due to the fact that there are at least two ways in which it is generally understood. The first involves the notion 'old' or 'given' information. The second discusses it in terms of 'what the discourse/sentence is about' (cf. Chafe 1976, Haiman 1978 and also discussion in Dunbar 1979:Chapter 1). The position adopted here is one of compromise. Firstly, topic is considered to be basically a discourse-oriented notion, as opposed to the subject which is viewed as part of the internal structure of the sentence. The topic characterizes in general what the discourse (or the sentence) is about, and for that reason is usually 'given'; that is, with the notable exception of cases of topic-switch or of discourse-initial structures where a topic is introduced for the first time. It is clear that by this description topics are characteristically definite, although we shall argue in Chapter 6 that they are not by definition definite (as Li and Thompson 1976 maintain). Note that topic and theme are taken here as synonymous.

Comment

Comment (and rheme) are considered to include simply that material which is not topical. As Haiman (1978:583) neatly states - "the topic

is what the speaker is talking about - the comment is what he says about it". The comment, therefore, typically contains 'new' information.

Topicalization

Although this study is not organized within a generative framework, it is, nonetheless, according to this framework that the following definitions are offered. Topicalization involves the movement of an element to initial position. In this study, it is considered to be synonymous with *fronting*. One important feature of topicalization (and which distinguishes it from movement rules like left-dislocation) is that it does not involve a break in intonation between the initial topicalized element and the rest of the sentence. For example, if in the sentence 'I am really very fond of Mary' *Mary* is topicalized, the resulting sentence is 'Mary I am really very fond of', and the whole constitutes one continuous intonation contour.

As a universal strategy of discourse, the flow of information in a sentence is generally assumed to be from 'known' or 'old' information (i.e. information which has a lower communicative value) to what is 'unknown' or 'new' information (material which, therefore, has a higher communicative value). This is considered the neutral sequence of items in a sentence (cf. Beneš 1964, 1967; Firbas 1966 a and b).(22) The fronting of topical elements to initial position is, therefore, in accordance with this principle of discourse structure (or the "Functional Sentence Perspective"). The fronting of non-topical rhematic elements to initial position is obviously much rarer and more emphatic, by virtue of the fact that it is shifting material out of its normal position to one less usual. In this respect, topicalization or fronting involves *focus*. To focus topical material on the other hand is to move it further rightwards in the sentence away from its more usual initial position, such as the postposing of subjects (elements which rank high in topicality).(23) Focus, therefore, typically refers to the placement of elements in any position other than that dictated by neutral narrative discourse; i.e. as defined by the Functional Sentence Perspective. The initial field is, then, the position of focus for elements whose basic unmarked position is further back in the sentence.

Topicalization has at least two functions -

i) To lend emphasis or focus to elements

ii) As a cohesive device to link the sentence to what has preceded in the discourse

Left-dislocation

Left-dislocation also entails topicalization or fronting. In transformational grammar it is analysed as a movement transformation which involves the shift of a constituent from some position X to initial position Y in the sentence. At the same time a copy item is inserted in the original position X which is co-referential to the shifted constituent. For example the sentence 'I am really very fond of Mary' becomes after left-dislocation of *Mary* - '*Mary*, I am really very fond of *her*'. What characterizes left-dislocation, then, is the large intonation break which separates the left-dislocated element from the rest of the sentence. In a sense it is left 'hanging' outside the sentence structure (hence the term 'hanging topic'), to the extent that a resumptive pronoun copy is felt necessary in the original position. Similarly, right-dislocation involves the same process but with the movement rightwards of material - '*He*'s a really rotten sort, *Fred*'.

There remains one final definition to be discussed; namely, that of *markedness*, a term which is also used quite loosely in the literature. Here, we will be using it in a number of different ways (cf. also Kohonen 1978:Chapter 2).

i) In terms of frequency, a structure can be said to be more marked than other variants if it has a smaller distribution.

ii) In terms of formal marking, an item can be more marked if it carries more morphological features; i.e. the basic unmarked form is that which carries the least morphological features, for example, the singular versus the plural form in English.

iii) A semantically more marked item is more specific in meaning, the less marked item the more general or basic (such as *bitch* as opposed to *dog*).

Structures can, therefore, be marked or unmarked according to any of the above three criteria. The problem with a concept like topicalization or left-dislocation is that it entails the idea of a basic unmarked order of sentence elements, and it is often not clear-cut what this

order, in fact, is. With respect to Middle Dutch, on the basis of frequency there is little to decide between either TVX or SVX as the basic order. What is then the canonical word order for Middle Dutch? It is perhaps necessary to draw here a distinction between obligatory and optional elements (as maintained by dependency grammar; cf. discussion Chapter 5). Items referred to as obligatory include subject, objects, complements and also some "valency" adverbs. The normal order with respect to these elements is undoubtedly SVX.[24] In terms of the discourse strategy outlined above (namely, that sentences tend to organize themselves along the lines of a neutral order, topic followed by comment), the unmarked order would also be SVX (subjects being of the highest topicality; cf. Kuno's hierarchy of topicality 1976:427 and also Givón 1976b).
Accordingly, TVX can be seen as a derived order via topicalization. There is still a problem, however, when we consider the peripheral or optional adverbials which appear with equal frequency in initial or postverbal position (i.e. simple adverbs like the time and correlative conjuncts). It was decided to assume SVX order as basic for these adverbials as well. And since separate analyses are provided below for the topicalization of each constituent type, it will be apparent from this what the relative frequency is of these peripheral adverbials in initial position as compared with that of the obligatory items. As we shall discuss below, the fronting of these adverbial elements has more of a linking function than fronting of the obligatory elements. Haiman(1974:39-40) refers to this as "resumptive topicalization" .

In short, then, I am starting from a basic assumption that the unmarked word order in Middle Dutch is SVX. Any order with a constituent other than the subject in initial position is, therefore, an instance of topicalization. Note that initial conjunctions (both coordinating and subordinating) are not considered to be topicalized since this is their fixed position in the clause. Topicalization is, then, possible in all clause types (except subject relatives where the initial relative marker and the subject of the clause coïncide). The following tables give the percentage of clauses which have undergone topicalization. The relevant clause types (i.e. excluding subject relatives) have been distinguished. Note that the number of relative clauses is given in

brackets. The sample sizes of the other clause types have been given earlier.

TABLE 14 Percentage of clauses with topicalization

BRABANTISH

	Main Clause	*Dat*-clause	Adverbial Clause	Relative Clause
1300	47%	18%	8%	2% (86)
1350	55%	9%	4%	4% (28)
1500	55%	4%	2%	4% (28)
1550	48%	3%	9%	8% (66)
1600	60%	6%	7%	7% (59)
1650a	38%	6%	5%	3% (31)
1650b	59%	9%	11%	16% (70)

TABLE 15 Percentage of clauses with topicalization

HOLLANDISH

	Main Clause	*Dat*-clause	Adverbial Clause	Relative Clause
1300	38%	2%	6%	3% (33)
1350	33%	11%	5%	6% (16)
1450	53%	13%	6%	1/5 (5)
1500	58%	5%	4%	4% (26)
1600	58%	9%	14%	9% (68)
1650	52%	5%	7%	11% (35)

When compared with the results Kohonen (1978:154-156) gives for the proportion of topicalization for each clause type in Old English, it is clear that Middle Dutch displays a considerably higher rate of topicalization, for all the clause types. As Kohonen's results (and Bean's 1983) suggest, this is most likely due to the fixing of SVX syntax in English at this time which would decrease topicalization.

Tables 14 and 15 above show that topicalization in Middle Dutch was largely a main clause phenomenon. The percentages remain low in all

the subordinate clause types, with perhaps *dat*-clauses showing overall a slightly higher rate. The following examples illustrate the use of topicalization in each of these subordinate clauses.

150. Soe wien dat euel an comt, hi slaepet soe vaste datten niemen wecken can
'To whomsoever the illness comes, he sleeps so tightly that no one can wake him' (Ho. 1350)

151. Ghi sult weten dat *in wonden* vierderhande quaet moghen wesen
'You should know that in wounds (there) are four kinds of matter' (Br. 1350)

152. Hierbi sal men mercken dat *van temperaten exerciti* die natuurlikeheyt wert verwect, ghesterct ende ghemeert
'Herewith one should note that by moderate excercise the naturalness is roused, strengthened and increased' (Ho.1300)

153. Ende die sijn van ses manieren als *onse* die wise meysters scriven
'And those are of six kinds as the wise masters write us' (Ho. 1300)

154. Als *hem* die purgaci toecomt, so werden si traech ende zwaer
'When this purging affects them (then) they become tired and unwell' (Ho. 1300)

155. Soe selmen die wonde bedecken ... soe dat *aen die wonde* gheen water en come
'Then one should cover the wound ... so that no water comes into the wound' (Br. 1350)

In relative clauses, topicalization was in fact much more restricted than the results imply. For one the sample was very much smaller than the other clauses which could be misleading on occasion (the number of samples is given in brackets since the non-subject relatives involve only a small proportion of the relative clauses overall). In addition the fronted elements are confined to simple adverbials like the following.

156. Die sal nemen boter daer *nye* zout an en quam
'He should take butter in which never (any) salt has been' (Ho. 1450)

157. ... men schryft aldus, beest, eel, heeft: in welke *nochtans* dese lange ê allen ghehoort wordt in de sprâc
'... one writes thus - *beest, eel, heeft,* in which however, only this long ê is heard in speech' (Br. 1650b)

Of all the dependent clauses, the *dat*-clauses showed the greatest freedom with respect to topicalization in that they had the most examples of fronted obligatory items like direct and indirect objects and very occasionally a complement . As we shall discuss more fully in Chapter 5, the behaviour of *dat*-clauses here is directly in accordance with Hooper and Thomson's (1973) pragmatic account of clausal dependency. Basically the more assertive the clause, the greater the freedom is of its word order , and *dat*-clauses as we shall discuss are the most assertive of all subordinate clauses; i.e. in terms of communicative value, they carry the highest degree of new information.

As this discussion on topicalization within dependent clauses implies, of considerable importance is the type of constituent involved, as well as its length. Accordingly, the following tables 16 and 17 give the proportion of topicalization with respect to constituent type. Direct and indirect objects are treated together, since there were not always enough indirect objects to constitute a significant sample. Overall, however, the indirect objects perhaps show a slightly greater tendency to topicalize. Complements include predicate adjectives and nominals. Note that the total number of clauses is given in brackets.

TABLE 16 Percentage of topicalized direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO) and complements (CO)

MAIN CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	DO/IO	18% (182)	20% (283)
	CO	4% (82)	0% (103)
1350	DO/IO	26% (115)	15% (224)
	CO	0% (61)	0% (79)
1450	DO/IO	-	13% (248)
	CO	-	0% (88)
1500	DO/IO	23% (167)	23% (220)
	CO	0% (76)	0% (87)
1550	DO/IO	14% (115)	-
	CO	3% (115)	-
1600	DO/IO	8% (139)	6% (49)
	CO	4% (47)	0% (32)
1650a	DO/IO	11% (107)	7% (69)
	CO	3% (37)	7% (55)
1650b	DO/IO	7% (60)	-
	CO	7% (27)	-

TABLE 17 Percentage of topicalized direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO) and complements (CO)

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	DO/IO	8% (188)	4% (114)
	CO	0% (55)	0% (101)
1350	DO/IO	2% (146)	6% (123)
	CO	1% (105)	0% (83)
1450	DO/IO	-	1% (98)
	CO	-	0% (48)
1500	DO/IO	1% (105)	2% (88)
	CO	0% (95)	0% (95)
1550	DO/IO	3% (210)	-
	CO	0% (167)	-
1600	DO/IO	2% (194)	2% (117)
	CO	0% (71)	0% (56)
1650a	DO/IO	1% (150)	3% (112)
	CO	0% (32)	0% (78)
1650b	DO/IO	1% (87)	-
	CO	1% (82)	-

As is clear from the above tables, complement fronting is very rare indeed. The following are some examples.

158. Dese iij. throne ben ic in iij. personen
'These three thrones I am in three persons' (Br. 1300)

159. Quaet is 't dat...
'Bad it is that...' (Ho. 1650)

The following example could be described as an instance of indirect topicalization since the fronting of the adjectival complement is the result of the postposing of the 'heavy' sentential subject, or as Kohonen (1978:166) calls it a "by-product" of it.

160. Thodericus ende veel ander meesters seggen dat
quaet es dat men pesen nayt
'Thodericus and many other masters say that (it) is
bad that one sews tendons' (Br. 1350)

Note that it is also possible that the 'dummy' subject *het* is enclitic to *dat*; i.e. *datet* > *dat* (cf. Chapter 7 for discussion)

The following table 18 gives the proportion of topicalized direct and indirect objects where a distinction has been drawn between pronominal and nominal forms. Note that the total number of pronominal and nominal objects is given in brackets.

TABLE 18 Topicalization of objects - pronouns versus nouns

MAIN CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	Pronoun	28% (98)	21% (47)
	Noun	6% (84)	19% (236)
1350	Pronoun	43% (42)	19% (69)
	Noun	16% (73)	13% (155)
1450	Pronoun	-	33% (57)
	Noun	-	6% (191)
1500	Pronoun	26% (62)	40% (75)
	Noun	22% (105)	14% (145)
1550	Pronoun	12% (26)	-
	Noun	15% (89)	-
1600	Pronoun	0% (19)	9% (11)
	Noun	9% (120)	5% (38)
1650a	Pronoun	23% (31)	0% (12)
	Noun	7% (76)	9% (57)
1650b	Pronoun	0% (11)	-
	Noun	8% (49)	-

TABLE 19 Topicalization of objects - pronouns versus nouns

SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	Pronoun	13% (108)	18% (22)
	Noun	1% (80)	0% (92)
1350	Pronoun	6% (32)	15% (41)
	Noun	1% (114)	1% (82)
1450	Pronoun	-	7% (14)
	Noun	-	0% (84)
1500	Pronoun	3% (36)	12% (17)
	Noun	0% (69)	0% (71)
1550	Pronoun	18% (34)	-
	Noun	1% (176)	-
1600	Pronoun	16% (25)	9% (22)
	Noun	0% (169)	0% (95)
1650a	Pronoun	3% (40)	9% (22)
	Noun	1% (110)	1% (90)
1650b	Pronoun	5% (19)	-
	Noun	0% (68)	-

It is clear from the above tables that pronominal objects show a much greater tendency towards topicalization. This tendency is particularly striking in subordinate clauses. There are at least two reasons for this.

i) With respect to thematic considerations, anaphoric object pronouns are obviously highly topical. Their occurrence initially is, then, in accordance with the discourse strategy of placing old before new information.

ii) Secondly, with respect to rhythmic considerations, light elements like pronouns front more easily than do 'heavy' ones. In addition, the postponing of 'heavy' items can, as we have seen, act as an indirect trigger for the fronting of these lighter ones.

Longer constituents do tend to carry new information, for the simple reason that new ideas usually need to be expressed in more words. Thus longer constituents tend towards end position also for thematic reasons.

Overall,however, the trend is clearly a gradual decrease throughout the texts in object topicalization, particularly in subordinate clauses. This decrease could well be an indication of the emergence of more strict SVX order. As is evident in the English texts of this time and earlier, we might expect also here an increasing restriction over time of the sorts of elements able to appear in initial position. Always the most frequent to topicalize are the adverbials as the following tables 20 and 21 show. This is particularly striking in main clauses. In fact the tendency for adverbials to topicalize is considerably greater than either tables indicate for the simple reason that every clause usually contains a number of different adverbials, only one of which potentially can topicalize (except in instances of "double" topicalization; cf. below). Since these tables give the proportion overall of initial adverbials, the results are, then, misleading. To illustrate this, table 22 gives the percentage of topicalized main clauses which contain initial adverbials. The increasing figures over time are again perhaps indicative of a move towards SVX order, as less verbal complements are inclined to appear initially.

Note, finally, that dependent clauses (table 21) show an increasing rate of adverbial topicalization. This is likely due to stylistic factors. Clauses of the 17th century are frequently very long and complex and usually contain long strings of conjoined adverbials. Clauses with a great many adverbials, then, will obviously have a much greater potential for adverbial topicalization.

TABLE 20 Percentage of topicalized adverbs (A) and adverbial phrases (AP)

MAIN CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	A	54% (156)	46% (129)
	AP	20% (239)	9% (246)
1350	A	59% (130)	63% (86)
	AP	20% (120)	13% (134)
1450	A	-	60% (40)
	AP	-	41% (194)
1500	A	55% (161)	60% (196)
	AP	14% (159)	14% (188)
1550	A	49% (179)	-
	AP	20% (233)	-
1600	A	52% (156)	46% (74)
	AP	29% (216)	32% (208)
1650a	A	43% (110)	46% (132)
	AP	13% (159)	26% (221)
1650b	A	51% (69)	-
	AP	31% (123)	-

TABLE 21 Percentage of topicalized adverbs (A) and adverbial phrases (AP)

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

		Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	A	6% (54)	0% (25)
	AP	1% (101)	2% (86)
1350	A	7% (42)	0% (15)
	AP	3% (89)	2% (43)
1450	A	-	2/13 (13)
	AP	-	0% (13)
1500	A	6% (53)	7% (56)
	AP	1% (69)	0% (89)
1550	A	8% (80)	-
	AP	5% (172)	-
1600	A	9% (119)	11% (47)
	AP	5% (239)	11% (206)
1650a	A	10% (60)	18% (90)
	AP	5% (150)	5% (134)
1650b	A	24% (62)	-
	AP	9% (192)	-

TABLE 22 Percentage figures of TVX main clauses which have initial adverbials

	Brabantish	Hollandish
1300	81%	59%
1350	79%	66%
1450	-	82%
1500	78%	76%
1550	78%	-
1600	87%	86%
1650a	68%	90%
1650b	82%	-

Simple adjuncts or conjuncts have the greatest tendency of all constituents to topicalize. Once more, the motivations for this can be seen as twofold.

i) As light elements they front more easily for the rhythmic

reasons outlined above.

ii) The fronting of these elements plays an important linking role in the discourse. This sort of fronting, then, is triggered not so much for emphasis, but by considerations of textual cohesion and is what Haiman (1974) describes as "resumptive topicalization" - "The first word of the sentence, usually an adverb of consecutivity or of consequence, refers back to the time or the action of some previous utterance or set of utterances" (p.39-40). Once again this is in accordance with the discourse principle of placing old information at the beginning of the sentence and following it with new information.

Finally, then, I should mention those constructions discussed in section 4.1 above in which more than one element preceded the verb. I suggest that these can be analysed in the same way as Kohonen (1978: 159-161) does for Old English; namely, as "double topicalization". Obviously these constructions are going to come into conflict with the emerging verb-second rule in the language, and examples like the following are increasingly rare in the later texts of the corpus here.

161. *Van allen ghemenen syropen sommich* is heet, *sommich* is cout
'Of all general syrups (from plant juices), some are hot, some are cold' (Ho. 1300)

162. *Daeromme die naecte ende ongheleerde surginen* leghen alle weghe haer papen sonder besceet op die wonden
'Therefore, the foolish and ignorant surgeons place their paste mixtures everywhere upon the wounds without discrimination' (Br. 1350)

To finish this section, I will give several examples of left-disclocation from the texts here. Although left-dislocation has basically the same function as topicalization, it is a much more marked construction. For one, in terms of frequency, it is very much rarer. Secondly, by separating off the fronted element from the rest of the sentence it gives it a much greater prominence. The following, then, are examples

of left-dislocation of the subject. As these constructions are contextually motivated each example is provided with the context in which it appeared.

163. Iecht. Dit is waer dat gheen cruut so helpelic en is ieghen die iecht dan castorie ende gheen so goet als die salie, want *salie ende castori si sien goet ieghen die iecht*
'Gout (title). This is true that no herb is as helpful against gout than castor and none as good as sage, for sage and castor (they) are good against gout' (Ho. 1350)

164. Van bloemen te planten ... *B(l)oemen* die bloeyen in den april overmits den vorst so en vervaren *si* die bloemen niet
'On planting flowers (title) ... Flowers which bloom in April, on account of the frost, then (they) do not experience flowers' (Br. 1500)

165. Dat segghen die arsateren, dat tsop vanden alante ende tsop vander rute te samen ghemenghet harde goet is ghedronken den ghenen die ghescoert is ... *Dat selve sop* wart*et* ghedronken *het* maket wece den lichaem
'(That) the doctors say that the juice of alantin and of rue, mixed together and drunk, is very good for (the) one who is ruptured ... The same juice, if it is drunk, (it) makes the body soft' (Ho. 1350)

166. *Desen Grave Willem tot sijnen iaeren ghecomen wesende* nam *hij* te wijve Elysabeth
'This Count William, having come of age, (he) took as (a) wife Elizabeth' (Ho. 1600)

167. *Maer ander vrouwen* diet te hebben pleghen als hem die ziecheit toecomt, so werden *si* traech
'But other women who often have it, when this sickness comes over them, then they become sluggish' (Ho. 1350)

The following example is one of left-dislocation of the object.

168. Ende *some* bekindic*se* daer van binnen, die ic nemmermeer van buiten en sach

'And some (visions) I experienced (them) there from within which I never saw from outside' (Br. 1300)

With respect to clause type, left-dislocation was very much more common in main clauses. In the following examples the fronted elements are shifted to a position *outside* the subordinate clause.

169. *Dat meel vanden weite* ist met oly ghesoden ende ghebonden op enen harden sweer het te gaet al thants
'The flour from wheat, if it is boiled with oil and bound onto a painful sore, it (the sore) will go immediately' (Ho. 1350)

170. *Zinziber* dy noch groen ys mach men *se* crighen ...
'Ginger, which is still green, if one can get it ...' (Ho.1500)

The following example shows left-dislocation of the subject from two mutually dependent correlative clauses. The sentence heads a new paragraph, the topic of which is eggs (and diet in general). *Die eyer*, therefore, is a new topic.

171. *Die eyer* so *si* ouder sien so *si* dilder sien
'Eggs, the older they are, the more worthless they are' (Ho. 1350)

The following example could also be analysed as left-dislocation. The difference is, however, that the copy item in the following relative clause is not a proform but a substituted noun phrase. There are a number of similar examples to this which are discussed more fully in Chapter 6.

172. *Litargia dat harde vreselic euel*, so wien *dat euel* an comt, hi slaepet altoes soe vaste datten niemen wecken can
'Lethargy that very fearful illness, to whomsoever the illness comes, he sleeps so tightly that nobody can wake him' (Ho. 1350)

Left-dislocation can also be triggered by the factor of 'weight' of the constituent, not only by contextual considerations. Many of the left-dislocated elements are 'heavy' (such as example 166) or

syntactically complex (examples 164 and 167). The use of the resumptive proform re-establishes the topic and reinforces the syntactic relationship between the left-dislocated item and the verb. As Kohonen (1978:182) writes of the same phenomenon in Old English, the placement of these 'heavy' items "in the original subject, object or adverbial slot would have made the sentence clumsy and awkward to handle. It (is) thus convenient to isolate such heavy constituents from the rest of the sentence". And this function of left-dislocation is found in both Modern Dutch and Modern English. It is not, therefore, to be attributed solely to the sometimes unwieldy organization of Middle Dutch sentences.

Right-dislocation was very much less frequent than left-dislocation in the texts here. The following is an example of right-dislocation of the object.

173. Ende alset wel ghesoden is ende wel vercoelt is, so selment menghen *dat raeu metten soden*
'And when it is well boiled and is well cooled down, then one should mix it, the raw with the boiled' (Ho. 1350)

In a recent article, Jansen (1980) describes what he terms two other types of left-dislocation structures in Middle Dutch. I will discuss these briefly below, although for reasons which will become obvious, I do not consider them to be instances of left-dislocation, at least as it has been defined above.

The first of these involves the fronting of an element. This is then immediately followed by a coreferential demonstrative pronoun *die/dat* which agrees with it in number, gender and case. The following are examples of this.

174. Oly van polleyen. *Oleum pulegium dien* maecmen aldus
'Oil of fleabane (title). Oil of fleabane (that) one makes thus' (Ho. 1300)

175. Medicine is ghedeylt in tween: die een heyt conservativa sanitatis, daermen ghesonde mede behoudt ... *Conservativa die* salmen billic voersetten om haer weerdicheyt
'Medicine is divided into two: the one is called 'preservation of health', with which one maintains health ... Preservation (that) one should justly prefer because of its worthiness' (Ho. 1300)

The following example illustrates that these structures are also motivated by considerations of length and complexity of the initial element. Note that *henneneyer* represents a new topic of discourse.

176. *Henneneyer*, die ny gheleyt sijn, ghezoden of ghebraden morwe, *die* sijn goet. *Oude eyer ende herde, die* sijn tescuwen
'Hens' eggs, which are newly laid, boiled or softly fried, (those) are good. Old eggs and hardboiled (ones) (these) are to be avoided' (Ho. 1300)

Very occasionally, the demonstrative copy is not congruent with the initial element. The infrequency suggests that it is likely to be due to the general breakdown in case endings. It may also be that *dat* is able to be used invariably in this function.

177. Ghi selt weten dat surgie is griex ende es gheseit cyros in griexse dat es die hant in dietsche ende agya es werck ... *surgie dat* es dat leste instrument van medicinen
'You should know that surgery is Greek and is said 'cyros' in Greek, that is the hand in Dutch and 'agya' is work ... surgery (that) is the last instrument of medicine' (Br.1350)

178. *Oleum van beverswijn die* maecmen aldus
'Oil of castor (that) one makes thus' (Ho. 1300)

With respect to subordinate clauses, structures like the above can only occur in *dat*-clauses (i.e. in accordance with observations made by Hooper and Thompson (1973) and Green (1976) as discussed above).

179. Ypocras seit dat *rauwe wonden die* siin quaet ende die riipe siin goet
'Hypocrates says that raw wounds (those ones) are bad and the ripe (ones) are good' (Br. 1350)

180. Ende macer seit dat *riet arundo met smeere daar op gheleit dat* trect wonderlike zeer doren ende splinteren uut
'And Macer says that arundo phragmites applied with fat (that) draws out really wonderfully thorns and splinters' (Br. 1350)

181. Ghi sult oec merken dat *alle die wonden van den buiicke die* opwaert siin. So suldi die sieken doen nederwaert hanghen...

'You should also note that all the wounds of the stomach (those) are upwards. So you should make the patient hang downwards...' (Br. 1350)

As the above illustrate, these structures occur in *dat*-clauses after non-factive verbs of saying, for example; i.e. where the *dat*-clause carries the bulk of new information. Example (181) is unusual in that it does not show verb-second order as you would expect, but retains the subordinating verb-final order.

The following example is unusual in that it contains both left-dislocation of the object (with a proform in original object position) as well as a following demonstrative copy.

182. *Candijs, quicseluer ... ende candida, van elcs euen uele alte samen ontwee ghewreuen, dat* salment elcs morghens nochteren nutten
'Candice, mercury ... and candida, from each the same amount, finely rubbed together, (that) one should use (it) each morning in moderation (Ho. 1350)

Since there are no other examples in the corpus like this, it is possible that it is due to scribal error. Nonetheless, I include it here for completeness.

In his analysis of these constructions, Jansen assumes an obligatory fronting or topicalization rule to shift the demonstrative 'proform' to a position immediately following the initial element; i.e. his analysis involves both left-dislocation and obligatory topicalization of the proform. For a number of reasons, however, I am reluctant to treat these as instances of left-dislocation, of the kind discussed above involving a personal pronoun copy. One reason has to do with the difference between the frequency of occurrence of the two constructions. Those involving the pronominal copies are very much rarer, at least that is what is suggested by the corpus here. In the Brabantish texts, for example, there are only three examples in 1300, one in 1350, three in 1500 and no examples in 1600. Constructions involving the demonstratives *die* and *dat*, however, are very much more usual. In 1300 there are forty-two examples, twenty in 1350, twenty-one in 1500 and nine in 1600. Since left-dislocation is typically a more unusual and more marked construction, the frequency of structures with

the pronominal copies suggests left-dislocation to be the more appropriate analysis. In addition, they involve fronted constituents which are separated from the rest of the sentence by a break in the intonation (supported by the fact that the left-dislocated items often stand outside a subordinate clause; cf. examples 169, 170 and 171 earlier). In fact this structure is precisely that which is found in the modern language today. The following example comes from Jansen (1980:141) -

183. Pi^{e}t (?) / hij komt straks nog even langs
'Pete (rising intonation - pause) he will come along in a few minutes'

Initial elements with following demonstrative pronouns, however, are not separated off from the rest of the sentence with this large comma intonation (cf. discussion Chapter 6) and I suggest that their distribution in Middle Dutch implies that this was also the case then.

Although it is very difficult to offer concrete analyses for structures like these, I suggest that the demonstrative pronouns here function something like topic markers. In all but a few examples they follow initial subjects. Since the usual position for subjects is initial, these demonstratives serve to give them added prominence in the sentence. And when the initial item is long or syntactically complex they serve to reinforce its syntactic relation with the verb. Where an element other than the subject is involved, they could be analysed something like the double topicalization structures discussed above.

One final observation of these two constructions has to do with their respective pragmatic functions. As Jansen also points out (p.141), the personal pronouns tend to refer back to new or important information or something which needs to be resumed. In function this is more typical of true left-dislocation structures which serve to return to a topic which may have been mentioned much earlier in the discourse (for this reason Givón 1976a:163 refers to these topic constructions as "recall topics").
The demonstrative pronouns, on the other hand, tend to refer to given topical material which is easily recovered from the context. Only occasionally do they introduce new topics for the first time.

The third and final construction involves the deictic adverb *so*, which typically follows initial adverbs, adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses (examples 184, 185 and 186 respectively, example 164 above also shows *so* following an adverbial phrase).

184. Galienus seghet dat goede natuur huer selven vuedt mitten slape. Ende die slaep sal bi nacht sijn ende niet bi daghe ... *Voert so* en sal niet die wachter der ghesonden slapen als die lichaem vol is, tot dat die spise is neder ghegaen neder vander croppe der maghen
'Galienus says that good nature feeds itself with sleep. And the sleep should be by night and not by day ... Moreover (then), the observer of good health should not sleep when the body is full, until the food has gone down from the crop of the stomach' (Ho. 1300)

185. Van den wonden int vleysch die menigherhande syn hoemen se sal vergaderen ... ende *van allen soe* siin alder quaets te ghenesen die ronde wonden
'On the wounds in the flesh which are of many kinds - how one should sew them (title) ... and of all (the wounds) (then), the worst to cure are the round wounds' (Br. 1350)

186. Van hoofdwonden ... Ende den hamer daer ghi mede clopt sal siin van loede omdat niet seer luijden en sal. Ende *als ghi dat werct soe* seldi den sieken siin oren stoppen met catoene soe dat hi dat gheluiit van den cloppen niet en hore
'On head wounds (title) ... And the hammer with which you strike should be of lead because (it) should not sound very much. And when you use that, (then) you should pack the patient's ears with cotton wool so that he doesn't hear the noise of the hammering' (Br. 1350)

Although Jansen provides an example of *so* following a noun phrase, no examples could be found here - all initial items were adverbial. The following example is perhaps the only exception to this, although *so* is likely to be analysed as a part of the indefinite concessive relative marker (i.e. 'whosoever', 'whatsoever'), with a corresponding correlative *so* in the following main clause.

187. *Wat* vrouwe *so* met kinde gaet ende dat kint stervet onder

haer ende si dat sop drinket daer die alant in is ghesoden,
so gheneset si des doets kints
'A dead child. Whatsoever woman goes with child and the child dies within her and (if) she drinks the juice in which alantin has been boiled, (then) she is cured of the dead child'

The function of *so* in these constructions is more obviously a correlative one than either that of personal or demonstrative pronouns in the constructions above. It seems to express a relationship very much like 'then' in English in that it has the effect of linking what follows it with what has preceded in the discourse. In this way it tends to behave like an echo of what has gone on earlier in the discourse and "thus acts as a sort of anchor for the sentence in which it appears (Haiman's definition of "resumptive topicalization" 1974: 40). For this reason it is found mostly after subordinate clauses (cf. discussion of *so* in this position in Chapter 4, section 4.13).

In function and distribution, then, these structures with *so* are very different from the two described above and I am very reluctant to go along with Jansen's analysis of them as left-dislocated structures. I suggest rather that they can be analysed also as double topicalization structures; i.e. where topicalization applies to both an adverb or adverbial phrase as well as *so*, or a noun phrase and *so* (although no examples of the latter were found in the corpus here).

FOOTNOTES

1. Smith (1971) in his investigation of early Germanic word order also points to the dramatic force which V/1 order can at times convey. He also hints at the presentative function of V/1 order by pointing out that a large number of V/1 sentences in his data are introduced by existential verbs and movement verbs which are typical of such constructions. In fact, it seems that existential/presentative constructions are universally characterized by V/1 syntax (cf. Hetzron 1971 and Givón 1976a).

2. All the Modern Dutch examples here come from Donaldson 1981, Chapter 12.

3. This dual function of *doch* also exists in Modern German.

   Ich sehe ihn oft *doch kennen wir uns kaum* (more usual)
   Ich sehe ihn oft *doch wir kennen uns kaum*

   And as in Dutch, *doch* preceded by a conjunction, such as *und*, must be followed by subject-verb inversion; i.e. *doch* in this case can only be an adverb (cf. earlier discussion in Chapter 3, where the third property of coordinating conjunctions was given as inability to be preceded by another conjunction).

   *Ich sehe ihn oft *und doch wir kennen uns kaum*
   'I see him often and yet we hardly know each other'

4. From Verdam's description of the linking function of *dan*, it may be that what he ambiguously refers to as "voegwoordelijk bijwoord" ('conjunctive adverb') may be the use of *dan* as coordinator.

   "Het woord *dan* in desen zin kan zoowel als voegwoord als bijwoord beschouwd worden en is dus voegwoordelijck bijwoord"

   Nonetheless, all the examples he gives involve an adverbial use of *dan*, i.e. in the sense of 'conjunct' as discussed here in Chapter 3.

5. This contradicts Jansen's analysis (1980) of such clauses. The following sentence he cites as an example of verb-third order.

   "Ende darnar alleene bi sine ede ende sonder bevanc sal hi sin quite"
   'And after that by his oath alone and without reservation will he be without debts' (p.144)

6. It should be pointed out that the minor discrepancies which exist between texts (the figures 18% and 24% for variant 1 order in the Hollandish texts of 1300 and 1600 respectively, for example) are undoubtedly due to stylistic considerations and individual variation between the different authors.

7. Van der Horst (1981a and b), for reasons which are not entirely clear to me, insists that these main clauses involving initial *dan* (i.e. *subordinate clause-dan-finite verb-subject*) are not to be considered violations of main clause verb-second order. His argument seems to rest on the assumption that *dan*, as a 'semantic echo' of the preceding subordinate clause, does not have independent constituent status but is to be considered a part of that clause. He maintains that it is via the use of these adverbs that the initial subordinate clause has now been incorporated into the sentence structure, to the extent that it now conditions inversion of subject and verb.

> "Zij houden als het ware de plaats warm van het eerste zinsdeel, teneinde het karakter van eerste zinsdeel van de bijzin (d.w.z. soms de inversieverplichting) ....opnieuw aktueel te maken....Via de expletieve samenvatting wordt de voorgaande bijzin geïncorporeerd in de zinsstruktuur" (1981a:181-182)

In this respect, Van der Horst views the presence of these adverbs as being motivated by the verb-second constraint, rather than as violations of the constraint. I reject this analysis for two reasons.

1. How is it to be explained then, that the sort of adverb which could appear at the head of these expressions came to be so severely restricted (i.e. to *dan* in the modern language) and that even *dan* has disappeared now from most expressions, if it is not to be attributed to the emerging verb-second order (whereby the presence of these adverbs violated this order)?
2. The use of these correlative adverbs parallels, in a sense, topicalization structures, whereby an element of the sentence is fronted to initial position, and then followed by a co-referential pronominal or demonstrative form (discussed here in Chapter 6 as topic-marking devices). The unmarked position for a subordinate clause is following the main clause on which it is dependent (compare the number of sentence-initial sub-

ordinate clauses with the overall number of subordinate clauses for each text).
Subordinate clauses may be fronted for focus, therefore, or if they are in some sense topical. The following correlative adverbs (*doe, dan, so* etc..) function like the coreferential pronouns or demonstratives following topicalized elements, for example. Like these pronoun or demonstrative copies they have full constituent status and like these have also either disappeared, or as we shall see in Chapter 6, undergone re-analysis, in order to accommodate main clause verb-second order.

8. Note that the order SXV includes an additional minor order XSXV. Both orders SXV and XSXV will be distinguished in section 4.4 which deals specifically with the kinds of elements in initial position.

9. The definition of concepts like coordination and subordination as they are used in this present study are provided in Chapter 3.

10. There is a certain amount of confusion surrounding Verdam's account of *gelijckerwijs*. He describes, for example, its subordinate function when used in conjunction with the complementizer *dat* or the subordinator *als*, a function which he then goes on to say remains even when the subordinators drop away. The motivation behind Verdam's description of *gelijckerwijs* as only an adverb is in this light very strange. It would seem that *gelijckerwijs* could in fact function as a subordinator in early Middle Dutch.

> "Ook verbonden met de voegwoord *alse* en *dat* ... door weglating der partikels is het woord voegwoord geworden"

11. Van der Horst readily admits this shortcoming of his analysis and a more recent work is an attempt to overcome this. In Van der Horst (1983b) he approaches the problem from a slightly different angle, asking the question "What is a subordinate clause?" He argues that there is no strict correlation between the form of the subordinate clause and its meaning, but rather it is a combination of a number of different forms (together with their meaning) which make up the concept of subordination. These include verb-final (or near-to-final) order of the verb, intonation, and *zinsdeelschap* (i.e. the fact that subordinate clauses can function as parts of

higher clauses). These can perhaps be more easily understood as properties of subordinate clauses, all of which can be present at one time, or only a few. For example, the following three so-called subordinate clauses do not have all the properties, and traditionally cause problems in naming and classifying -

1. *Hoe eerder je begint, hoe sneller je klaar bent*
   'The earlier you begin, the quicker you'll be finished'
2. *Dat je toch zoiets kon vergeten!*
   'That you could forget something like that!'
3. Hij zei: *ik kom morgen*
   'He said: I'm coming tomorrow' (cf. Van der Horst 1983b:13-14)

One thing I would argue here though is that what unites these three clauses, together with the seven others cited by Van der Horst and the more clear-cut cases of subordination, is that the content of all these clauses does rely on information present in the discourse, or elsewhere (i.e. common knowledge shared by speaker and hearer) for its full interpretation. These clauses are as they stand incomplete units which is what characterizes them as subordinate. If I understand Van der Horst's arguments correctly, what he is suggesting is something like the varying degrees of dependency which Paul ascribes to clauses. Paul distinguishes between "grammatical" dependency which has to do with formal surface-level marking and "logical" dependency which has to do with the deeper logico-semantic relationship between clauses. Clauses like (2) above can be logically subordinate, at the same time as being grammatically independent. This sort of distinction is what is implied by Van der Horst's treatment of subordination. Now although I find the ideas very interesting, I am not sure what they contribute to Van der Horst's earlier analysis which posited the verb-position as the criterion for the classification of clauses. As I see it, these later ideas (and also Paul's account) only go to prove the folly of distinguishing clauses soley on the basis of word order. If clauses can be subordinate in Modern Dutch without necessarily having V/F order, why should this be any different in Middle Dutch, especially when the word order was in fact considerably freer overall.

12. Van der Horst (1981a:64) also assumes this to have been the case. As he points out, to argue otherwise is to imply "een enorme verandering in de psychologie van de mens", a very big claim to make

and certainly one difficult to justify.

13. This is by no means an original observation. The change from pragmatic to grammatical word order has already been noted for Dutch by Jansen (1980), and Gerritsen (1980, 1982a). It is also a well recorded change for other Germanic languages (cf. for example, Christoffersen (1980) for Scandinavian), and Givón (1976a and 1977) discusses it with reference to Spanish, Hebrew and Bantu.

14. The development from parataxis to hypotaxis is suggested overtly by the corpus of material here. Whereas in the earliest Middle Dutch texts of the 13th and 14th centuries grammatical subordinate clauses were very much fewer in number than main independent clauses, by the time we reach those texts of the 16th century the situation had reversed. Main clauses were in short supply, as opposed to an over-abundance of subordinate clauses. It was very much the practice of this time to string endless number of subordinate clauses together, sometimes producing perceptually very difficult multiple-embeddings.

15. This etymology is preserved in Middle Dutch *wane/waen/wan* meaning 'why not' (Middle High German *wan* from *wande ne*; cf. Stoett 1909: 223, footnote 2).

    Wan laetti helpen u dar af?
    'Why don't you let yourself be helped down?'

    The interrogative sense gradually was weakened until it became simply an exclamatory utterance, something like Modern Dutch *welaan* ('well now!').

16. This whole extract is very disjointed For one, the sentence beginning with the *opdat*-clause is incomplete. It may well be that the scribe has omitted parts.

17. Lockwood (1968:230-231) treats Middle High German *wande* as a simple subordinator. The fact that it shows at times characteristic main clause word order he attributes to its etymology. As it developed from the interrogative 'why' which would have headed main clauses, Lockwood maintains this is sufficient explanation for the fact that *wande*-clauses retain occasional main clause word order. He perhaps too easily attributes its subordinating

behaviour to influence from the subordinating conjunction *sid* ('since'). What Lockwood's explanation fails to take into account are the two very distinct semantic functions served by *wande* (namely those of Behaghel's "ideal" and "real" cause), even though they are clear in the sentence examples he cites. If he were to recognise these two functions, he would see that they correlate very definitely with the alternative word order patterns.

18. The potential for ambiguity does exist, however, as the following example from Stoett (1909) illustrates. If *dat* is, in fact, the demonstrative pronoun, then the following clause involves paratactic negation.

    Doe mocht ic hoir qualic weygeren *dat* ic en dede hoer begheren
    'Then I could scarcely deny that (complementizer/demonstrative pronoun) I did desire her'

    (Cf. Chapter 7 for a possible third interpretation of this sentence).

19. Whether you treat such cases as these as instances of parataxis depends on whether you understand either one of the two clauses involved to be somehow subordinate to the other.

20. The few rare examples of subjectless independent main clauses do seem emphatic, and only ever occur when it is clear from the context or from the situation what the subject is. Examples like the following were much more frequent, in fact, in the 17th century when they seemed to be a definite stylistic feature of these texts.

    Kommen meest in't aengesicht, hals en handen
    '(They) come mostly on the face, neck and hands' (Ho. 1650)

    As in Modern Dutch also, it is characteristic of a marked vivid style as the following extract illustrates. This is taken from the journal of Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe van Hoorn, describing his journey in the East Indies 1618-1625 (although it is believed to have been twenty years after the journey).

    "Ick dat hoorende liep metter haest nae vooren int' galjoen, ende bevondt dat de boegh-poorten noch toe waren; riep derhalven: "Wy hebben gheen noodt", en sey "...besiet of er geen water in't ruym is", 't welck datelijck gheschiede, doch bevonden geen water in't ruym..."

    'Hearing that, I ran quickly to the front of the *galjoen*,

and found that the two safety-doors were still closed; so (I) called, "We are in no trouble", and (I) said, "...see if there is any water in the hold", which happened immediately, but (we) found no water in the hold...' (p.74)

(*galjoen* = part of the ship which is in front of the bow, under the bowsprit)

The omission of a subject occurs even less frequently in subordinate clauses. When it does occur, it is usually due to cliticization (cf. discussion Chapter 7, section 7.2), as the following examples illustrate.

Ende den hammer ... sal siin van loede omdat niet seer luijden en sal

'And the hammer ... should be of lead because (it) should not sound very much' (Br. 1350)

(*omdat* < *omdatet* < *omdat het*)

Dit sidet al tgader hent dicke genoch weert

'Boil this together until (it) becomes thick enough' (Ho.1500)

(*hent* < *hentet* < *hent het*)

Other cases of subject omission occur in clauses of comparison or manner, where as in English also, the subject can delete.

Putredo is ghemenct quaet dicke ende dunne gheliic als uut appostemen vloyt

'Putredo (discharge from wounds) is mixed matter, thick and thin, as flows out of abscesses' (Br. 1350)

21. Van der Horst's ideas have their origin in Kiparsky (1968b).There Kiparsky accounts for the development of the historic present tense in terms of the same sort of marked + unmarked structure; i.e. in the conjunction of a present tense with a preceding "true past tense".

22. References to the natural discourse sequence of old information - new information go back as far as McKnight (1897:138). "This general subjective order in the progression of ideas is from the known to the unknown. Of a thing known, something new, unknown, is predicated. That the new idea may be connected with ideas already in mind, the speaker begins with something known".

23. The actual term 'topicalization' is in itself misleading in that it implies that what is fronted is automatically topical or is

in some way made topical in the process, which clearly need not be the case. Not only can you front non-topical material to focus it, but this can also serve as an indirect means of delaying (and therefore focusing) the topic. Such a procedure is a common stylistic device employed in story-telling, as in the fronting of a number of adverbial phrases in the following - "And there, at the door, quivering all over with tremble stood the skull with a dagger in its hand!" (as related by a small child of seven years). For this reason, fronting, the more neutral of the two terms, is the more accurate; that is, unless you assume, as Kohonen (1978:69) does that "only fronted constituents are regarded as topics". Kohonen does not regard initial subjects, for example, as topics, but rather as *themes*; i.e. he draws a distinction between theme and topic, theme being "what constitutes the beginning of the sentence". Even though no such distinction is made here, as topicalization is the accepted term in much of the literature, it is still the term which is used in this study.

24. Kohonen (1978:Chapter 2) discusses the same problem of deciding on a basic unmarked order for Old English.

CHAPTER 5

Exbraciation in Middle Dutch

5.1 Introduction

A construction which has existed in all Germanic languages at some stage in their history is that of the sentence brace. A wealth of terminology has sprung up to describe this construction - in German *Satzklammer, verbale Klammer, Satzrahmen, Einklammerung* and *Zangenkonstruktion*; in English sentence brackets/brace/frame, two-pronged predicate and embraciation, and in Dutch it is typically referred to as the *tangkonstruktie*. As embraciation and sentence brace appear to be the terms most current in the literature now written on the subject, these are the terms adopted here. The following examples from Modern Dutch illustrate the two sorts of embraciation found in main and subordinate clauses.

1a. Ik *heb* een auto *gekocht* 'I have bought a car'
b. Wij *moeten* een auto *kopen* 'We must buy a car'

2a. Hij zegt *dat* hij een auto *koopt*
'He says that he is buying a car'
b. Hij zegt *dat* hij een auto *moet kopen* (*kopen moet*)
'He says that he must buy a car'

In the above examples (1) and (2) the constituents in italics form the imaginary brace characteristic of the construction. In examples under (1) the finite verb appears in obligatory second position and the non-finite verb appears sentence-finally forming a brace around the other constituents of the sentence. The examples under (2) are of subordinate clauses where the finite verb appears in sentence-final position and with the conjunction forms a brace around all other constituents. Note that two orders are possible for compound verb structures in Dutch (the order in brackets enjoying perhaps slightly less favour). More will be said about these alternative orders below.

Constructions involving separable verbs (where the prefix bears the stress) also form a brace-like construction in main clauses on account of the final placement of the separable prefix.

3. Wij *gaan* vanmiddag *weg* 'We are going away this afternoon'

Where the direct object is felt to be closely tied to the verb it is regarded also as a verbal prefix and behaves in the same way with regard to the brace construction.

4. Wij *kijken* vanavond *televisie* 'We are watching television tonight'

Note that examples of separable verbs such as these will not be included in the present discussion on embraciation (cf. Van Loey (1976) for a treatment of separable and inseparable verbs in Middle Dutch).

During the history of Dutch, changes can be seen to have taken place in the order of elements with respect to the brace construction. In Middle Dutch the brace was by no means a fixed feature of the language and frequently material appeared to the right of the end brace. In Modern Dutch this is still true to some extent, although the sort of material which can appear outside the brace has been very much restricted. Now it is largely only prepositional phrases which can be found outside the brace. Once more there exists a variety of terms used to describe the placement of material in this position. In German for example it is referred to as *Ausklammerung* or an instance of *unvollständiger Rahmen*. The term most current in recent literature is that of exbraciation (originating from Vennemann 1974). This is the term used here.

What has changed then during the history of Dutch is the sort of material which can exbraciate and it is this which is of interest here. With respect to this change, we must take into account two sorts of exbraciated material as first recognised by Behaghel (1900, 1926, 1932). In Chapter 2, section 2.42 we discussed briefly Behaghel's ideas but it is perhaps useful to mention them here again. Basically, Behaghel distinguishes between the exbraciation of what he terms 'necessary material' (by which he seems to mean subject, objects, complements and certain adverbials) and what he describes as 'unnecessary material' (of which prepositional phrases form the greater part). The latter he views as providing unnecessary expansion of the sentence. This seems to coincide with what is usually referred to now as 'after-thought' material (after McKnight (1897) and developed as a theory of syntactic change by Hyman (1975); cf. also Chapter 2, section 2.42).
Behaghel's ideas, although somewhat vaguely stated, strongly resemble

those of Tesnière (1959) which later provided the basis for the present theory of dependency grammar. Dependency grammar sees the verb as a kind of structural centre with all other constituents (or "dependents") forming dependency relations with it. These constituents fall into two groups which roughly correspond to Behaghel's 'necessary' and 'unnecessary material'. According to Tesnière's terminology, these are called *actants* and *circonstants*. *Actants* can be further divided into obligatory elements (elements which can not be deleted but which are essential for the grammaticality of the sentence) and optional elements (those which can be deleted without loss of grammaticality but which are not freely transferable to other sentences). *Circonstants*, on the other hand, can be described as "free dependents". They are only loosely joined to the verb and can be freely deleted or added to other sentences; i.e. there are no restrictions on their occurrence. The precise structural criteria for distinguishing between the different sorts of dependents need not concern us here (cf. discussion Herbst, Heath and Dederding 1978:Chapter 4). But I mention dependency grammar for the reason that the rate of exbraciation shown by constituents does seem to correlate directly with the degree of dependency they have on the verb corresponding to the notion of valency. As Behaghel correctly points out, the exbraciation of necessary material, although frequent in early German, occurs only rarely in the modern language. Referring to verb-final position of subordinate clauses in German he says:

> "Notwendige Bestimmungen unterliegen weniger der Nachstellung als nichtnotwendige" (1932:44)

The same is true of Modern Dutch. It is only in a few rare and highly marked constructions that items like the subject and object can appear outside the brace. On the other hand the exbraciation of such items was extremely common in Middle Dutch.

5.2 Method

The following is an investigation of the development of the brace construction in the texts under consideration here; i.e. covering the same time span of approximately 1300-1650.
Clauses are divided into the same types as described earlier.

Main clauses are distinguished from subordinate clauses, which are further divided into complement clauses (CCls), introduced by the complementizer *dat*, adverbial clauses (ACls), introduced by subordinating conjunctions expressing time, location, manner etc., and relative clauses (RCls), introduced by demonstrative or interrogative pronouns. In the main clause the brace is formed by compound tenses involving (a) tense auxiliaries *hebben/siin/worden* + past participle and (b) modal auxiliaries *kunnen, mogen, willen, sullen, moeten, werden* and also occasionally *tun* ('to do') + infinitive.

I have included only those clauses which Ebert (1980:358) refers to as *rahmenfähig* (i.e. able to contain a brace structure). Such clauses must therefore have an element which can potentially appear inside or outside the brace (in practice this means one more constituent than the subject and verb). Accordingly the following dependent clause would not be considered *rahmenfähig*, although the following main clause would.

5. *Alse dit is ghedaen*, soe selmen nemen hursene melc
'When this has been done, then one should take 'horse's milk'

Note that sentential complements (such as relative or *dat*-clauses) are not included among the exbraciated elements. In this same way infinitival complements are also discounted. This decision is made on account of the fact that the normal position for these items seems to be outside the brace (probably to avoid the sorts of perceptual difficulties which arise with centre-embedding; cf. Kuno 1974). But more will be said about this below.

Following the example of Ebert (1978), three variations of the brace construction have been distinguished here -

A. Clauses with full brace

6. Spise, *die* sonder lust *wert ghenoemen*, en *wert* niet alsoe wel *verduwet*
'Food which is taken without pleasure, is therefore not well digested' (Ho. 1300)

The above example (6) shows a full brace in both the main clause and its dependent clause.

B. Clauses with partial brace

7. Oec en *sal* hi niet *slapen* ghescoyt inden zomer of in heten tiden
'Also he should not sleep with shoes on in summer or during hot times' (Ho. 1300)

8. Ende waer *dat* enich dolinghe *quaem* inden wercken van medicinen...
'And if it were that any error came into the working of medicine...' (Ho. 1300)

C. Clauses with no brace

9. Men *sal scuwen* vleysch dat zeer ghesouten ende grof is
'One should avoid meat which is very salted and coarse' (Ho. 1300)

10. *Als* wonde *luken* eer tijt, lecter op agrimonie
'If wounds gape before time, put agrimony on there' (Ho.1350)

There exists a problem, however, with dependent clauses involving complex verb forms. In the following example, for instance, the direct objects follow the finite verb but not the infinitive.

11. Ghi selt comen tot groter eeren op dat ghi *wilt* uwe neersticheit ende uwen sin daer toe *keeren*
'You should come to great honour in that you will turn your diligence and your mind to it' (Br. 1350)

And in the following example, an adverbial phrase follows the (finite) auxiliary but not the main verb (past participle).

12. Al waer dat sake *dat* hi verghifnisse *hadde* elkes daghes *ghedronken*
'Even if it is the case that he had drunk poison each day' (Ho. 1350)

The problem exists on account of the ambivalent ordering of the finite verb and non-finite verb forms in the Middle Dutch dependent clauses. In Modern Dutch they appear as a unit in end or near-to-end position of the clause, which means that any exbraciated material will follow all elements of the verbal complex. It was decided here to adopt the principle that items were said to exbraciate only if they appeared to

the right of *all* verb parts. Accordingly, examples (11) and (12) above were not considered instances of exbraciation. Such clauses did not appear so frequently in the texts that a different analysis would change the results significantly. At most, the percentages for exbraciation would increase slightly if such clauses as these had been included amongst those with exbraciation.(1) I should also point out that clauses like (11) above with contiguous subject and finite verb order would have been recorded in the statistics of the preceding chapter where only the position of the finite verb was of concern.

In addition, dependent clauses with the order 'finite verb + non-finite verb' within verb complexes in end position were also not considered to be a violation of the brace construction. In a number of studies on the development of the German brace, however, such structures as these were considered to be examples of exbraciation (cf. Ebert 1978:40 for discussion). This analysis was not adopted here for two reasons. Firstly, to be consistent with the definition of exbraciation assumed here, material can only be said to exbraciate if it follows all elements of the verbal complex. Secondly, both orders, as mentioned earlier, are still possible in Modern Dutch and are not thought to constitute a violation of the brace. A study of the development of the order within the verbal complex is offered here in section 5.4.

Note, however, that in dependent clauses *no* brace implies the order 'S Vf V X'. The order 'S V Vf X', on the other hand, is described as *partial* brace. Accordingly, the example below with an exbraciated adverbial phrase is an instance of partial brace.

13. Ende hi sal kemmen sijn hoeft, want daer trect uut den
den hoefde die vapore, *die opgheclommen sijn* inden slaep
vander maghen
'And he should comb his head, because there the vapours
leave the head, which have climbed up during sleep from
the stomach' (Ho. 1300)

The data was examined here for possible factors at work in conditioning variation in the rate of exbraciation in the texts. These factors include considerations of clause and constituent type, lexical factors, rhythmic factors (such as length of the clause and length of the exbraciated material), stylistic and social considerations, pragmatic

considerations of topic versus comment, for example, and finally the matter of dialect differences. The section ends with possible explanations for the rather vexing question - why was there a decline in the rate of exbraciation in Dutch?

The following tables 1 and 2 give the overall statistics for the frequency of exbraciation in both the main and dependent clauses of Brabantish and Hollandish. The percentage of exbraciation in clauses is given for different times between 1300 and 1650. Note that the overall number of clauses is provided in brackets after the percentage.

TABLE 1	Exbraciation in main clauses	
	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	52% (129)	58% (190)
1350	52% (182)	64% (177)
1450	-	70% (212)
1500	45% (267)	50% (233)
1550	17% (128)	-
1600	30% (158)	47% (130)
1650a	10% (88)	40% (115)
1650b	69% (59)	-

TABLE 2 Exbraciation in dependent clauses

		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	CCls	44% (71)	54% (50)
	ACls	35% (83)	30% (90)
	RCls	35% (182)	29% (154)
		38% (336)	34% (294)
1350	CCls	58% (112)	32% (31)
	ACls	33% (121)	29% (62)
	RCls	43% (153)	24% (190)
		44% (386)	26% (283)
1450	CCls	-	16% (37)
	ACls	-	18% (18)
	RCls	-	32% (133)
			28% (188)
1500	CCls	24% (62)	25% (85)
	ACls	18% (122)	16% (135)
	RCls	17% (100)	25% (91)
		19% (284)	21% (311)
1550	CCls	12% (103	-
	ACls	20% (171)	-
	RCls	7% (295)	-
		12% (569)	
1600	CCls	28% (97)	19% (94)
	ACls	20% (188)	18% (84)
	RCls	16% (184)	26% (219)
		20% (469)	22% (397)
1650a	CCls	14% (109)	10% (71)
	ACls	10% (82)	13% (158)
	RCls	10% (102)	11% (183)
		11% (293)	12% (412)
1650b	CCls	59% (63)	-
	ACls	65% (94)	-
	RCls	60% (154)	
		60% (311)	

5.3 Results

A comparison of Tables 1 and 2 quickly reveals that exbraciation is more frequent in main clauses than in subordinate clauses. Both main and subordinate clauses, however, show an overall decrease in the rate of exbraciation over time. But the question of exbraciation is a very complex one indeed, and the findings here show there to be many factors at work causing considerable variation in the order of elements with respect to the brace. The following is a discussion of these factors.

A. Clause types

Although as mentioned dependent clauses show less exbraciation than main clauses, variation is also apparent within the different types of dependent clauses. In general *dat*-complement clauses show a greater tendency to exbraciate than either relative or adverbial clauses. Relative clauses have the lowest percentages of exbraciation, with only a few exceptions; notably, those relative clauses of 1350 Brabantish and of 1500 and 1600 Hollandish. The following hierarchy then can be established for the likelihood of exbraciation in specific clause types. The hierarchy is arranged in order of decreasing likelihood of exbraciation from main clauses through to relative clauses.

main clauses
dat-complement clauses
adverbial clauses
relative clauses

This hierarchy of expected exbraciation in clauses is in accordance with the facts of Old High German as reported by Dunbar (1979:176), although he makes no distinction between *dat*- and adverbial clauses.

In addition to the above hierarchy, present findings suggest conjoined subjectless clauses to have a greater tolerance of exbraciation than other clause types. This is most apparent in dependent clauses. Unfortunately, there are not enough examples of such clauses in some texts to be certain of this. Nonetheless, for those texts where we do have sufficient data, the difference is significant. For example, Brabantish texts of 1350 and 1600 show exbraciation in dependent subjectless conjoined clauses to be 61% and 37% respectively. Hollandish texts of 1350 and 1500 show exbraciation in such clauses to be 47% and 40% respectively. The following example (14) illustrates this.

14. ...bloede, dat om den tanden leit ende maect den sweer
'...blood, which leads around the teeth and makes the sore'

In example (14) the relative clause introduced by *dat* shows the brace construction, which is however absent in the second conjoined clause of VO order. There is a possibility that the conjoined clause is in fact a main clause with omission of subject pronoun, in which case the order is that expected of a main clause. However, the fact that subject pronouns are only rarely omitted from the language at this time makes this unlikely. It does seem though, that the writer, forgetting he began in a dependent clause is continuing his sentence as if in a main clause. The fact that these clauses show such a high rate of no brace constructions (as opposed to partial brace constructions) makes this seem plausible.(2) And in fact exbraciation is more frequent in such conjoined dependent clauses than in conjoined main clauses which would also support this.

B. Constituent type

The following Tables 3 - 8 give the rate of exbraciation in main and dependent clauses for various sentence elements. Table 3 compares the results for direct objects, indirect objects (which also include the few examples of genitive objects) and various different predicate nominals and adjectives. It then gives the overall results for verbal complements. Note that the category predicate nominal/adjective here refers to subject adjectival and nominal complements as in the following two examples.

15. Die boonen sien niet *goed* te verduwen
'Beans are not good to digest' (Ho. 1350)

16. Dat derde is *slapen ende waken*
'The third is sleeping and waking' (Ho. 1300)

Also included here are those complements of verbs like *heten* and *noemen* ('to call/'to be called').

17. Dese oly is gheheten *sperma ruta*
'This oil is called seed of rue' (Ho. 1350)

It was decided to include also object adjectival and nominal complements as those in italics in the following two examples.

18. ...nadattu dat syroep *groet* maken wilds
'...according to whether you want to make the syrup great (in volume)' (Ho. 1300)

19. ...dat deel van medicinen datmen heett *conservativa*
'...the part of medicine which one calls preservation'

Findings did reveal that nominal complements exbraciated with a slightly greater frequency than adjectival complements. This distinction can, however, be accounted for when we look below at the kind of verb which characteristically appears with both kinds of complements. Kohonen (1978:111) notes this distinction also between the nominal and adjectival complements of Old English but connects it with the length of the constituent - nominal complements are generally longer and consequently more readily appear postverbally (cf. below on the effects of constituent length). But length cannot be the explanation here for the distinction (in Hollandish 1500 for example, 11 out of a possible 14 subject nominals exbraciated, 10 of which were only one word in length).

Tables 5 and 6 show the rate of exbraciation for adverbials. Note that a distinction was made between adverbial phrases and single adverbs.[3] Tables 7 and 8 show the rate of exbraciation for subjects. Note that for main clauses the number of examples given in brackets includes only those clauses where a constituent other than the subject appears in initial position; i.e. only non-initial subjects are considered here to be potential candidates for exbraciation.

TABLE 3 Exbraciation of direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO) and nominal/adjectival complements (CO)

MAIN CLAUSES

		Brabantish			Hollandish		
1300	DO	18%	(57)		26%	(129)	
	IO	0%	(27)	19% (94)	11%	(9)	25% (147)
	CO	50%	(10)		33%	(9)	
1350	DO	27%	(112)		41%	(147)	
	IO	0%	(8)	29% (137)	27%	(11)	42% (175)
	CO	59%	(17)		65%	(17)	
1450	DO	-			64%	(162)	
	IO	-			0%	(11)	59% (177)
	CO	-			1/4		
1500	DO	25%	(169)		27%	(185)	
	IO	2/4		22% (212)	2/5		26% (210)
	CO	39%	(39)		15%	(20)	
1550	DO	4%	(51)		-		
	IO	0/7		2% (92)	-		
	CO	0%	(34)		-		
1600	DO	15%	(82)		27%	(31)	
	IO	0/6		12% (98)	0/5		24% (53)
	CO	0%	(10)		29%	(17)	
1650a	DO	8%	(36)		27%	(44)	
	IO	0/5		6% (48)	-		26% (46)
	CO	0/7			0/2		
1650b	DO	53%	(15)		-		
	IO	-		58% (19)	-		
	CO	3/4			-		

TABLE 4 Exbraciation of direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO) and nominal/adjectival complements (CO)

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

		Brabantish			Hollandish		
1300	DO	16%	(141)		9%	(95)	
	IO	9%	(45)	15% (242)	13%	(15)	16% (211)
	CO	18%	(56)		22%	(101)	
1350	DO	24%	(135)		9%	(105)	
	IO	3/7		28% (247)	6%	(18)	9% (206)
	CO	32%	(105)		10%	(83)	
1450	DO	-			14%	(88)	
	IO	-			8%	(13)	13% (148)
	CO	-			13%	(47)	
1500	DO	8%	(98)		6%	(84)	
	IO	0/7		9% (200)	1/4		7% (183)
	CO	10%	(95)		6%	(95)	
1550	DO	7%	(179)		-		
	IO	0%	(31)	5% (377)	-		
	CO	3%	(167)		-		

TABLE 4 (Cont.) Exbraciation of direct objects (DO), indirect objects (IO) and nominal/adjectival complements (CO)

DEPENDENT CLAUSES

		Brabantish		Hollandish	
1600	DO	9% (173)		14% (101)	
	IO	4% (25)	8% (269)	0% (13)	13% (171)
	CO	7% (71)		16% (57)	
1650a	DO	1% (129)		4% (104)	
	IO	0% (16)	1% (177)	0% (8)	4% (190)
	CO	3% (32)		4% (78)	
1650b	DO	19% (77)		-	
	IO	0/9	33% (166)	-	
	CO	50% (80)		-	

TABLE 5 Exbraciation of adverbials in main clauses (A = Adverb, AP = Adverbial Phrase)

		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	A	7% (80)	6% (102)
	AP	51% (102)	69% (135)
1350	A	6% (128)	2% (54)
	AP	66% (100)	64% (76)
1450	A	-	7% (86)
	AP	-	40% (116)
1500	A	1% (168)	2% (176)
	AP	57% (145)	54% (141)
1550	A	1% (85)	-
	AP	11% (108)	-
1600	A	0% (114)	0% (73)
	AP	34% (116)	29% (160)
1650a	A	0% (52)	0% (94)
	AP	10% (71)	33% (104)
1650b	A	0% (43)	-
	AP	54% (54)	-

TABLE 6 Exbraciation of adverbials in dependent clauses (A = Adverb, AP = Adverbial Phrase)

		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	A	6% (82)	4% (45)
	AP	51% (178)	51% (148)
1350	A	12% (65)	13% (52)
	AP	61% (172)	46% (122)
1450	A	-	14% (22)
	AP	-	49% (69)
1500	A	2% (66)	1% (69)
	AP	39% (99)	44% (128)
1550	A	4% (135)	-
	AP	10% (365)	-
1600	A	4% (155)	0% (76)
	AP	24% (307)	18% (380)
1650a	A	0% (79)	0% (116)
	AP	16% (202)	16% (226)
1650b	A	4% (72)	-
	AP	56% (264)	-

TABLE 7 The exbraciation of subjects in main clauses

	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	8% (61)	2% (103)
1350	2% (133)	3% (72)
1450	-	2% (144)
1500	2% (158)	0% (169)
1550	5% (62)	-
1600	2% (87)	5% (122)
1650a	0% (81)	5% (64)
1650b	2% (89)	-

Note that the number of examples in brackets equals the number of non-initial subject main clauses in a compound tense; i.e. the potential number of occurrences for the exbraciation of subject.

TABLE 8	The exbraciation of subject in dependent clauses	
	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	3% (294)	2% (237)
1350	3% (293)	0% (330)
1450	-	1% (215)
1500	0% (331)	1% (300)
1550	6% (356)	-
1600	1% (398)	2% (240)
1650a	0% (208)	2% (304)
1650b	7% (274)	-

The results given in Tables 3 - 8 suggest the following hierarchy of constituents with respect to their frequency of exbraciation. The constituents are arranged in descending order of decreasing frequency.

adverbial phrases
nominal/adjectival complements
direct objects
indirect/genitive objects
adverbs
subjects

The following Tables 9 and 10 make the distinction between direct object nouns and pronouns. They reveal that for both main and dependent clauses the distinction is a significant one. Pronouns were rarely found to exbraciate, in fact there is not one example of object pronoun exbraciation in main clauses. It was not felt necessary to provide separate tables for subject and indirect/genitive objects as the tendencies were the same. Only one example of the exbraciation of an indirect object pronoun could be found for all the clause types, and no examples of subject pronoun exbraciation.

TABLE 9		Exbraciation of direct objects Pronouns versus nouns - Main Clauses	
		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	pronoun	0% (22)	0% (35)
	noun	29% (35)	35% (94)
1350	pronoun	0% (37)	0% (30)
	noun	40% (75)	51% (117)
1450	pronoun	-	0% (32)
	noun	-	79% (130)
1500	pronoun	0% (65)	0% (72)
	noun	41% (104)	44% (113)
1550	pronoun	0% (15)	-
	noun	6% (36)	-
1600	pronoun	0% (4)	0% (3)
	noun	15% (78)	29% (28)
1650a	pronoun	0% (7)	0% (6)
	noun	10% (29)	68% (38)
1650b	pronoun	0% (2)	-
	noun	61% (13)	-

TABLE 10		Exbraciation of direct objects Pronouns versus nouns - Dependent clauses	
		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	pronoun	4% (70)	0% (18)
	noun	27% (71)	12% (77)
1350	pronoun	3% (30)	3% (32)
	noun	30% (105)	11% (73)
1450	pronoun	-	0% (7)
	noun	-	15% (81)
1500	pronoun	3% (29)	0% (16)
	noun	10% (69)	7% (68)
1550	pronoun	5% (18)	-
	noun	7% (161)	-
1600	pronoun	7% (14)	0% (16)
	noun	9% (159)	16% (85)
1650a	pronoun	0% (28)	0% (16)
	noun	1% (101)	5% (88)
1650b	pronoun	0% (13)	-
	noun	25% (64)	-

In the above hierarchy for the frequency of exbraciation in constituents, pronouns of any category (subject, object etc.) are the least likely of all constituents to exbraciate and would therefore follow subjects. Note that this hierarchy is very close to one proposed by Dunbar (1979:175) for the likelihood of exbraciation for elements in the Old High German subordinate clause. Dunbar is working here from the findings of various linguists who have examined Old High German texts (Löhner (1882), Manthey (1903), Bolli (1975) are among them). He combines their results and comes up with the following hierarchy, arranged in descending order of decreasing frequency of exbraciation.

prepositional phrases
indirect/genitive objects
direct objects
predicate nominals
subjects
(pronouns)

There are two obvious differences between Dunbar's hierarchy and the one presented here. Dunbar's hierarchy implies that indirect/genitive objects have a greater tendency to exbraciate than do direct objects. Findings here suggest the opposite is true (with the exception of dependent clauses in 1300 Hollandish where indirect objects show 13% exbraciation and direct objects 9%). Since most examples here of indirect/genitive objects are pronouns, however, this would explain why the figures for the exbraciation of these constituents are so low. In general, though, the sample size is too small to say anything conclusive about these objects. The next notable difference between the two hierarchies is in the position of the predicate nominals. Here as mentioned, predicate nominals are included together with adjectival complements and are placed very high on the hierarchy. Dunbar's hierarchy implies they have a very low rate of exbraciation, which is certainly not supported by the data here. Nonetheless, an explanation does present itself for the results here when we examine the sorts of verbs which appear with these complements.

C. Lexical considerations

In the present data, constructions involving the verbs *heten* and *noemen* behave quite idiosyncratically in the order they show with respect to their complements. Even in those texts where exbraciation of such

constituents is uncommon, these verbs consistently show their complements positioned outside the brace.

20. ...waer bi dit teghenwoordige boeck wel mach worden gheheeten *het boec van wondre*
'...whereby this present book may well be called "The Book of Wonder"' (Ho. 1500)

In the main and dependent clauses of the Hollandish text of 1350, these verbs show almost 100% exbraciation of their complements. This means that 6 out of the 8 exbraciated nominal complements in main clauses are complements of *heten*. All examples of nominal complement exbraciation in dependent clauses of this same text involve constructions with *heten*. In relative clauses, exbraciated constructions with *heten* are especially frequent, to the extent that they almost become formulaic in nature.

21. Hofment, diemen heyt wit aelment, is die beste
'Hofment which one calls white aelment is the best'

22. Neemt een cruyt dat men heet *corsoude*...
'Take a herb which one calls corsoude...'

23. Nu verstaet des waters natur welke hetet *Electuarium*
'Now understand the nature of the water which is called electuary' (Ho. 1300)

If one were to exclude all the examples involving *heten/noemen*, the percentage figures for exbraciation in relative clauses would be very low indeed. Certainly the high percentage of these examples is responsible for those few occasions where relative clauses show a higher rate of exbraciation than the other subordinate clause types. I can offer no explanation for the strong correlation which exists between *heten/noemen* and exbraciation, except that expressions involving these verbs do have this formulaic character. It is not unusual for frozen expressions to display exceptional syntax. And certainly it is in all the texts of both Brabantish and Hollandish that these verbs show this strong preference for verb-second order in dependent clauses and no brace in main clauses (cf. earlier example 17).

Verbs of movement like *comen* ('to come') and *gaen* ('to go') often

appear in verb-second position in subordinate clauses, and even verb-initial position as example (24) shows.

24. Soe saghic inden gheeste dat quam enen coninghinne
ghecleedt met enen guldenen clede
'Then I saw in the vision that there came a queen
clothed in a golden dress' (Br. 1300)

De Meersman (1980a:119) notes in his examination of dependent clause order of 14th century Brabantish that such dynamic verbs as *comen* and *gaen* appear more often with exbraciated adverbials of place or direction than do such static verbs as *staen* ('to stand'), *liggen* ('to lie'), *sitten* ('to sit'), all of which can have the meaning simply 'to be', and *siin* ('to be'). Although this was not investigated systematically here, this observation does not seem to be supported by the present data. Both movement and static verbs exbraciated their adverbials with equally high frequency.

Both movement and static verbs are characteristic of so-called presentative devices (cf. Givón 1976a and 1976b). As pointed out by Givón (1976b:155) these "emergence" and "existence" verbs are universally exceptional in their choice of word order by showing a strong preference for VS order (as is the case in English). As we discussed in Chapter 4, section 4.23, sentences (24) and (25) are examples of this.

25. Van de heel-middelen moet men somtijts de sachste nemen
als daer zijn de versachtende ende de verdrijvende
'Of the remedies, one must sometimes take the most gentle
as there are soothing and purging ones' (Ho. 1650)

It is with respect to lexical considerations such as these that we can at least partly account for the extraordinarily high exbraciation figures gained for the Brabantish text of 1650b. For one, a number of the clauses contain the verbs *heten/noemen*.

26. j, v, w, worden genoemt ji, vu, wu
'*j*, *v*, *w* are called *ji*, *vu*, *wu*'

Secondly, the majority of clauses contain one of the verbs - *schrijven* 'to write', *betekenen/beduden* 'to mean' and *seggen* 'to say' - all of which consistently place their complements outside the brace.

27. Már als men schrijft, *t' Antwerpen, t'onsent*, so beteekent men dat....
'But when one writes *t'Antwerpen, t'onsent*, then one means that...'

28) ...omdat er in dí wórden beduyt dár
'...because *er* in the words means *dár*'

29.'...als men sét : schoon wér'
'...as one says, *schoon wér*'

As the punctuation of (29) indicates, the complements of these verbs are unusual in that they resemble something like reported speech which does seem to motivate their movement to a position outside the brace. In addition, all these complements contain only new information which, as we shall discuss in more detail below, strongly militates against their appearance within the brace. It would be interesting, however, to compare this work with another by the same author, G. Bolognino, to see whether or not the rates of exbraciation differ at all. For certainly the percentage figures for this text are unusually high and quite out of keeping with those of the other texts of about the same time. With the exception of this one text, Brabantish shows a consistently lower rate of exbraciation than Hollandish. More Brabantish texts of the 17th century need to be examined to see exactly to what extent these high figures are due to the lexical considerations outlined above, or to what extent they can be traced to Bolognino's own idiosyncratic use of the language (since we do know him to have had his own very original and also very definite ideas about his particular dialect). Unfortunately, the other Brabantish text of 1650a is also not entirely satisfactory since it is certainly the most literary in style of all the texts examined here (cf. description Appendix 2). In comparison it shows a very low rate of exbraciation which may well be due to its more literary character.

As for adverbs, an attempt was made in this present study to correlate the position of adverbials with their semantic categories. Using the distinctions drawn by Kohonen (1978) in his study of Old English word order (distinctions which he in fact bases on the analysis of adverbials in Quirk et al. (1972)), the following different semantic categories were made.

i) Time: adverbials of time, duration and frequency (i.e. answering when? how long? how often?).

ii) Place: adverbials of placement and direction.

iii) Manner: adverbials of means (not including instrumentals) and degree.

iv) Purpose: adverbials indicating cause and reason.

v) Instrument: adverbials describing the object causally involved in the action of the verb.

vi) Agent: adverbials describing the animate instigators of the action of the verb.

vii) Prepositional verbal complements: included here are those prepositional phrases linked to the verb; i.e. goals, targets or recipients of the action described by the verb.

viii) Disjuncts: adverbials revealing the attitude of the speaker/writer ('truly', 'really', 'undoubtedly' etc.).

The difficulty of classifying some adverbials meant sometimes an almost arbitrary assignment of categories. Whilst for some adverbials the categories overlapped, there were also adverbials which did not seem to fit neatly into any one class. Nonetheless, for all the difficulties involved, a strong relationship was found to exist between the different semantic classes of adverbials and their tendency to exbraciate. Tables 11 and 12 illustrate this. Note that as adverbials (particularly adverbials of time and manner) are particularly prone to fronting, it was felt here that by considering adverbials not in initial position, results would show a truer representation of the correlation between the semantic categories and the exbraciation of adverbials. The results of Tables 11 and 12 ignored then the initial adverbials, as these were not considered potential candiates for exbraciation. These then are the results (cf. footnote 3).

TABLE 11 Exbraciation of adverbials by semantic category
Main and dependent clauses
BRABANTISH

	1300	1350	1500	1550	1600	1650a	1650b
1 time	18% (71)	37% (38)	26% (82)	0% (70)	7% (112)	2% (56)	0/8
2 place	38% (103)	37% (114)	38% (121)	8% (150)	20% (170)	10% (115)	53% (129)
3 process	39% (102)	39% (106)	16% (99)	14% (214)	18% (221)	9% (139)	43% (158)
4 purpose	75% (8)	2/2	1/1	0% (14)	50% (18)	1/4	0% (15)
5 instrm.	50% (28)	90% (48)	78% (27)	0% (14)	33% (18)	2/5	2/2
6 agent	3/6	-	0/2	3% (31)	11% (9)	0/6	2/3
7 prep.cpl	53% (72)	79% (48)	57% (30)	11% (88)	28% (53)	32% (28)	73% (44)
8 disjunct	-	1/1	-	0/3	1/1	0/1	-

TABLE 12 Exbraciation of adverbials by semantic category
Main and dependent clauses
HOLLANDISH

	1300	1350	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650
1 time	54% (76)	43% (65)	41% (34)	30% (54)	-	8% (105)	0% (68)
2 place	47% (88)	47% (93)	71% (55)	32% (142)	-	26% (99)	45% (136)
3 process	39% (119)	27% (58)	27% (52)	19% (106)	-	23% (178)	13% (162)
4 purpose	56% (9)	1/1	1/4	4/5	-	14% (28)	22% (23)
5 instrm.	69% (32)	39% (23)	1/1	76% (25)	-	1/2	35% (17)
6 agent	-	1/1	-	2/2	-	19% (19)	2/7
7 prep.cpl	57% (30)	59% (22)	70% (23)	65% (43)	-	48% (60)	35% (51)
8 disjunct	-	-	-	1/1	-	-	0/3

No significant difference was found between the results of main and dependent clauses, so the above results include both. Easily those adverbials with the highest frequency of exbraciation were those adverbials of purpose and instrument and prepositional verbal complements. Place adverbials also showed a considerably high tendency to exbraciate. These results correspond exactly with those of Kohonen (1978) for Old English. Although for some reason he does not mention instrumentals as being particularly prone to exbraciation, his Table 10 (p.118) nonetheless shows this to be the case for all three texts. The correlation found here

to exist between semantics and exbraciation in adverbials was the strongest in Hollandish texts. The only exception to this tendency out of all the texts was that of Brabantish 1550 which showed a very low rate of exbraciation for purpose and instrumental adverbials (as will be discussed below, however, this is an exceptional text in many respects).

D. Rhythmic considerations

i) The length of constituents

As might be expected, there appeared in the findings here a strong correspondence between the length of elements and their clausal position. Behaghel (1932:44) discusses in some detail the role such rhythmic phenomena play in the positioning of elements in the subordinate clauses of early German.

> "Wie sich seine Stellung zu seinen Bestimmungen gestaltet, das hängt, namentlich in der älteren Zeit, in weitem Umfang von der Länge der bestimmenden Satzglieder ab. Die Glieder, die kürzer oder nicht länger als das Verbum sind, gehen ihm in der Regel voraus, solche, die länger sind, folgen ihm überwiegend nach, d.h. es wirkt das Gesetz der wachsenden Glieder"

Adopting once again the methodology of Kohonen (1978:106-109), direct objects here were divided into three groups according to length. Groups of one, two and three or more words in length were distinguished. The frequency of the objects in each of these three groups was checked against their position in the clause; i.e. within or outside of the brace structure. The following Tables 13 and 14 give the results of exbraciated objects in main and dependent clauses of both dialects.

TABLE 13 Exbraciation of direct objects

Length of objects - Main clauses

		BRABANTISH		HOLLANDISH	
1300	1 word	4%	(28)	10%	(48)
	2 wrds	7%	(14)	16%	(52)
	+3 wrds	53%	(15)	69%	(29)
1350	1 word	2%	(43)	11%	(44)
	2 wrds	25%	(36)	33%	(42)
	+3 wrds	61%	(33)	67%	(61)
1450	1 word	-		33%	(55)
	2 wrds	-		42%	(26)
	+3 wrds	-		91%	(81)
1500	1 word	1%	(70)	3%	(78)
	2 wrds	23%	(52)	16%	(62)
	+3 wrds	64%	(47)	84%	(45)
1550	1 word	0%	(15)	-	
	2 wrds	0%	(16)	-	
	+3 wrds	10%	(20)	-	
1600	1 word	0/8		0/4	
	2 wrds	7%	(41)	0/5	
	+3 wrds	27%	(33)	36%	(22)
1650a	1 word	0%	(11)	0/8	
	2 wrds	0%	(12)	16%	(19)
	+3 wrds	23%	(13)	53%	(17)
1650b	1 word	0/2		-	
	2 wrds	3/4		-	
	+3 wrds	5/9		-	

TABLE 14 Exbraciation of direct objects

Length of objects - Dependent clauses

		BRABANTISH		HOLLANDISH	
1300	1 word	4%	(90)	3%	(33)
	2 wrds	12%	(24)	7%	(40)
	+3 wrds	56%	(27)	23%	(22)
1350	1 word	10%	(50)	4%	(49)
	2 wrds	24%	(59)	7%	(43)
	+3 wrds	50%	(26)	42%	(13)
1450	1 word	-		3%	(21)
	2 wrds	-		8%	(50)
	+3 wrds	-		41%	(17)
1500	1 word	4%	(49)	0%	(24)
	2 wrds	11%	(38)	2%	(43)
	+3 wrds	18%	(11)	24%	(17)
1550	1 word	4%	(27)	-	
	2 wrds	6%	(74)	-	
	+3 wrds	6%	(78)	-	
1600	1 word	7%	(30)	0%	(21)
	2 wrds	5%	(75)	9%	(32)
	+3 wrds	15%	(68)	23%	(48)
1650a	1 word	0%	(38)	5%	(20)
	2 wrds	0%	(53)	4%	(52)
	+3 wrds	3%	(38)	3%	(32)
1650b	1 word	13%	(23)	-	
	2 wrds	17%	(23)	-	
	+3 wrds	26%	(31)	-	

The above tables clearly show that a trend existed for longer objects of three or more words to appear outside the brace. The fact that pronoun objects rarely, if ever in some texts, exbraciated can also be attributed to this 'principle of length'. And, as we shall see below, the 'principle of length' can itself be explained in terms of certain pragmatic considerations. Diachronically, this trend can be seen to have increased throughout the texts here; i.e. the exbraciation of an object became more and more dependent on its length.

Although separate tables are not provided for indirect/genitive objects they were found also to show the same tendency; namely, longer constituents were more prone to exbraciation. Similarly, it was found that many of the exbraciated subjects were 'heavy', sometimes comprised of a number of conjoined elements as the following examples illustrate.

30. Ende daer bi soe moet ghebetert werden daer *die lust der spisen, dat verduwen, dat berueren der herten, die gheeste des levens ende alle des lichame sinne*
'And in addition so the desire for food, the digestion, the movement of the heart, the spirit of life and all the senses of the body must be bettered there' (Ho. 1300)

31. Ende daer bi so wert verlicht daer af *die ymaginacy ende die memori ende sunderlinghe die verstandenisse*
'And in addition so the imagination and the memory and especially the understanding is made clearer by this' (Ho.1300)

The following Table 15 shows the length of the exbraciated subjects in all the texts. Note that no distinction is made between main and dependent clauses, and figures represent the number of examples, not the percentage. Tables 16 and 17 show the length of adverbials with respect to exbraciation. Here adverbials were divided into groups of one, two, three and four or more words in length. The frequency of these four groups was crosstabulated against the frequency of the brace construction. Once more the longer constituents showed a clear preference for the position outside the brace.

TABLE 15 The exbraciation of subjects - the length of subjects in main and dependent clauses

		BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	1 word	3	1
	2 wrds	2	1
	+3 wrds	8	4
1350	1 word	3	-
	2 wrds	5	1
	+3 wrds	3	1
1450	1 word	-	0
	2 wrds	-	1
	+3 wrds	-	3
1500	1 word	-	-
	2 wrds	2	1
	+3 wrds	1	-
1550	1 word	1	-
	2 wrds	4	-
	+3 wrds	18	-
1600	1 word	-	-
	2 wrds	1	2
	+3 wrds	4	4
1650a	1 word	-	-
	2 wrds	-	4
	+3 wrds	-	6
1650b	1 word	3	-
	2 wrds	2	-
	+3 wrds	12	-

TABLE 16 Exbraciation of adverbials

Length of adverbials - Main clauses

		BRABANTISH		HOLLANDISH	
1300	1 word	7%	(80)	6%	(102)
	2 wrds	27%	(37)	38%	(29)
	3 wrds	71%	(38)	71%	(55)
	+4 wrds	56%	(27)	84%	(51)
1350	1 word	6%	(128)	2%	(54)
	2 wrds	54%	(24)	62%	(21)
	3 wrds	58%	(45)	61%	(33)
	+4 wrds	87%	(31)	73%	(22)
1450	1 word	-		7%	(86)
	2 wrds	-		19%	(36)
	3 wrds	-		57%	(37)
	+4 wrds	-		42%	(43)
1500	1 word	1%	(168)	2%	(176)
	2 wrds	38%	(29)	26%	(39)
	3 wrds	53%	(58)	56%	(55)
	+4 wrds	71%	(58)	74%	(47)
1550	1 word	1%	(85)	-	
	2 wrds	0%	(21)	-	
	3 wrds	12%	(41)	-	
	+4 wrds	15%	(46)	-	
1600	1 word	0%	(114)	0%	(73)
	2 wrds	19%	(31)	14%	(22)
	3 wrds	21%	(33)	19%	(37)
	+4 wrds	50%	(52)	37%	(101)
1650a	1 word	0%	(52)	0%	(94)
	2 wrds	8%	(12)	12%	(24)
	3 wrds	9%	(34)	26%	(39)
	+4 wrds	12%	(25)	51%	(41)
1650b	1 word	0%	(43)	-	
	2 wrds	40%	(10)	-	
	3 wrds	55%	(20)	-	
	+4 wrds	58%	(24)	-	

TABLE 17 Exbraciation of adverbials

Length of adverbials - Dependent clauses

		BRABANTISH		HOLLANDISH	
1300	1 word	6%	(82)	4%	(45)
	2 wrds	29%	(72)	32%	(38)
	3 wrds	51%	(55)	41%	(66)
	+4 wrds	80%	(51)	82%	(44)
1350	1 word	12%	(65)	13%	(52)
	2 wrds	38%	(39)	58%	(19)
	3 wrds	55%	(83)	46%	(74)
	+4 wrds	84%	(50)	38%	(29)
1450	1 word	-		14%	(22)
	2 wrds	-		16%	(19)
	3 wrds	-		58%	(40)
	+4 wrds	-		80%	(10)
1500	1 word	2%	(66)	1%	(69)
	2 wrds	36%	(28)	33%	(48)
	3 wrds	38%	(52)	48%	(60)
	+4 wrds	47%	(19)	60%	(20)
1550	1 word	4%	(135)	-	
	2 wrds	2%	(81)	-	
	3 wrds	8%	(134)	-	
	+4 wrds	15%	(150)	-	
1600	1 word	4%	(155)	0%	(76)
	2 wrds	4%	(76)	8%	(52)
	3 wrds	18%	(102)	12%	(113)
	+4 wrds	40%	(129)	24%	(215)
1650a	1 word	0%	(79)	0%	(116)
	2 wrds	7%	(54)	3%	(63)
	3 wrds	16%	(86)	13%	(84)
	+4 wrds	23%	(62)	30%	(79)
1650b	1 word	4%	(72)	-	
	2 wrds	19%	(36)	-	
	3 wrds	49%	(100)	-	
	+4 wrds	68%	(128)	-	

Although Table 15 shows a clear preference for heavier subjects to exbraciate, it is clear from the texts that there are many examples where the 'principle of length' can simply not apply, as in the following two examples of relative clauses with exbraciated subjects of only one word.

32. ...daerin ghesoden sal siin *serapinum*
'...in which should be boiled serapinum' (Br. 1350)

33. ...daerin ghesoden selen siin *pierwormen*
'...in which should be boiled earth worms' (Br. 1350)

Note that 'heavy' constituents are often split so that part appears within the brace and part outside. Clearly this phenomenon is able to be accounted for by the 'principle of length' (or Behaghel's *Gesetz der wachsender Glieder*). The following are three examples of this.

34. ...als die wonde *root* wert ende *hert*
'...if the wound becomes red and hard' (Br. 1350)

35. Als *dat hooft* ghewont es ende *dat hersenbecken daermede...*
'If the head is wounded and the cranium also...' (Br. 1350)

36. Eest dat sake dat die sieke *gheen sweeringhe* en ghevoelt noch *gheen gheswel* soe...
'If it is the case that the patient feels no pain or swelling then...' (Br. 1350)

These are treated here as violations of the brace, not as Dunbar (1979: 37) does; namely, as examples of conjunction reduced full sentences. They appear to be examples of what Wunderlich and Reis (1924:46) mean by the term 'supplementary exbraciation' (cf. discussion in Dunbar p.37), whereby the main idea of the clause is supplemented or extended by additional material placed outside the brace. The following example (37) illustrates well the idea of 'supplementary exbraciation'.

37. ...saken, die *hi* ne hadde noch *oec vele liede*
'...things which he did not have nor also many people' (Br.1300)

In the same way a complex noun phrase consisting of a noun phrase and following genitive phrase will often split and place the genitive phrase outside the brace.

38. ...opdat ghi gheen teeken en siet *vander doot*
'...so that you see no sign of death' (Br. 1350)

Examples such as (38) are treated here as instances of prepositional phrase exbraciation and are included under the exbraciation of adverbials.

E. The complexity of the noun phrase

In connection with the 'principle of length' is yet another factor which can trigger the appearance of material outside the brace construction. Results here revealed that complex constituents (on account of modification by a relative clause, for example, or by the addition of participial constructions) show a marked preference for exbraciation.

39. Ende sinen goede smaec sal weder comen ende *dieselve natuere* die hi te voren hadde
'And his good taste and the same nature which he had before should come back again' (Ho. 1300)

40. Men sal nemen *een cruut* dat ondercrude hiet
'One should take a herb which is called ondercrude' (Ho. 1300)

41. ...dat tsop vanden alante ende tsop vander ruten te samen ghemenghet harde goet is ghedronken *den ghenen* die ghescoert is
'...that the sap from alantin and the sap from ruten mixed together and drunk is very good for the one who is injured (having a broken limb)' (Ho. 1350)

42. Dan suldi nemen *drye cleyn sachte doeken van witten reynen hooft doeken* ghenet in een deel met rosarum ghewermt ende de twee deel olie rosarum
'then you should take three small soft patches of white clean head cloth, soaked in one part with warmed rose water and in the two parts with oil of roses' (Br. 1350)

Sometimes, as in example (39) it is not clear which has triggered the exbraciation of an element; i.e. whether it is weight of the constituent caused by its length or the additional modification of a following relative clause or whether it is an instance of genuine afterthought (or perhaps Wunderlich and Reis' 'supplementary exbraciation'). In the case of (39) and (43) below it is probably

the interaction of all these factors which brings about exbraciation.

43. ...opdat gheen pese gheraect en es of *oeck die liese*
die de been bedect
'...so that no tendon is intact nor also the skin which
covers the bone' (Br. 1350)

Both De Meersman (1980a:100) and Ebert (1980:370) note the preference by complex noun phrases for exbraciation. There are two possible explanations for this. The first looks to rhythmic factors as just discussed above. The second is a functional explanation offered by Kuno (1974). Kuno shows that syntactic patterns, such as centre-embedding as caused by these complex noun phrases give perceptual problems which are minimized by devices such as extraposition. The positioning of such complex noun phrases after the verb avoids the perceptual difficulties.

F. The length of the clause

Findings here suggest a strong correlation between the length of a clause and the placement of its constituents. To examine this more closely, clauses were classified as short, medium and long and the frequency of each was checked against the type of brace construction they showed; namely, full brace (FB), partial brace (PB) and no brace (NB). Table 18 gives the results for main clauses. Here short clauses consist of five words or less, medium of six or seven words and long of eight words or more. Table 19 gives the results for dependent clauses. Here short clauses consist of four words or less, medium of five or six and long of seven words or more. The difference between main and subordinate clauses with respect to this classification is a necessary one. Main clauses which are able to contain the brace are longer than dependent clauses because they involve a compound tense. Dependent clauses, on the other hand, involve either compound or simple tenses and are, therefore, potentially shorter.

TABLE 18 Exbraciation according to length - Main clauses

		BRABANTISH						HOLLANDISH					
		Short		Medium		Long		Short		Medium		Long	
1300	FB	86%		57%		29%		77%		50%		22%	
	PN	0%	(29)	30%	(30)	50%	(70)	0%	(44)	22%	(50)	39%	(96)
	NB	14%		13%		21%		23%		28%		39%	
1350	FB	81%		67%		20%		59%		44%		20%	
	PB	0%	(42)	9%	(54)	44%	(86)	2%	(41)	19%	(48)	33%	(88)
	NB	19%		24%		36%		39%		37%		47%	
1450	FB	-		-		-		69%		40%		10%	
	PB	-		-		-		2%	(49)	10%	(48)	19%	(115)
	NB	-		-		-		29%		50%		71%	
1500	FB	91%		64%		30%		91%		72%		18%	
	PB	3%	(63)	16%	(83)	40%	(121)	0%	(55)	5%	(64)	50%	(114)
	NB	6%		20%		30%		9%		23%		32%	
1550	FB	93%		92%		82%		-		-		-	
	PB	0%	(14)	4%	(24)	16%	(90)	-		-		-	
	NB	7%		4%		2%		-		-		-	
1600	FB	95%		93%		56%		7/7		78%		46%	
	PB	0%	(19)	7%	(40)	32%	(99)	-	(7)	5%	(18)	35%	(105)
	NB	5%		0%		12%		-		17%		19%	
1650a	FB	100%		95%		85%		6/8		75%		54%	
	PB	0%	(13)	5%	(20)	15%	(55)	-	(8)	8%	(24)	30%	(83)
	NB	0%		0%		0%		2/8		17%		16%	
1650b	FB	2/3		60%		22%		-		-		-	
	PB	-	(3)	10%	(10)	54%	(46)	-		-		-	
	NB	1/3		30%		24%		-		-		-	

TABLE 19 Exbraciation according to length - Dependent clauses

		BRABANTISH						HOLLANDISH					
		Short		Medium		Long		Short		Medium		Long	
1300	FB	60%		38%		2/3		90%		59%		30%	
	PB	17%	(304)	52%	(79)	1/3	(3)	1%	(142)	27%	(69)	52%	(83)
	NB	23%		10%		-		9%		14%		18%	
1350	FB	68%		44%		2/6		91%		61%		32%	
	PB	18%	(271)	53%	(62)	4/6	(6)	1%	(167)	31%	(72)	52%	(44)
	NB	14%		3%		-		8%		8%		16%	
1450	FB	-		-		-		89%		60%		33%	
	PB	-		-		-		4%	(99)	31%	(68)	62%	(21)
	NB	-		-		-		7%		9%		5%	
1500	FB	95%		80%		42%		95%		68%		46%	
	PB	1%	(151)	12%	(83)	50%	(50)	2%	(164)	27%	(93)	45%	(54)
	NB	4%		8%		8%		3%		5%		9%	
1550	FB	96%		89%		83%		-		-		-	
	PB	1%	(158)	2%	(116)	11%	(295)	-		-		-	
	NB	3%		9%		6%		-		-		-	
1600	FB	95%		91%		69%		96%		87%		71%	
	PB	0%	(112)	5%	(102)	25%	(253)	4%	(53)	10%	(68)	26%	(276)
	NB	5%		4%		6%		0%		3%		3%	
1650a	FB	100%		86%		85%		98%		94%		77%	
	PB	0%	(71)	9%	(66)	14%	(156)	1%	(127)	3%	(123)	19%	(161)
	NB	0%		5%		1%		1%		3%		4%	
1650b	FB	68%		41%		31%		-		-		-	
	PB	4%	(53)	23%	(56)	57%	(202)	-		-		-	
	NB	28%		36%		12%		-		-		-	

Both the tables confirm that the shortest clauses have the highest rates for the full brace construction. Predictably, the longest clauses have the highest rates for the partial brace. The rates for the no brace construction are similar for all clauses, short, medium, and long, although once more the longest clauses have the highest figures. The general decline in exbraciation over time is particularly evident in the decrease of the no brace construction. The exceptional text is, of course, Brabantish 1650b where the rate of exbraciation matches that of 14th and 15th centuries. But we have already discussed this text, and offered an explanation for the very high figures. Finally I might just mention the very great increase in the length of clauses which is evident here in the progression of texts over time. In accordance with the growing awareness of the emerging literary language, this reaches a peak in the 17th century where stylistically the tendency is to use very long and extremely complex clauses. For example, one characteristic practice of this time is to provide with every noun another synonymous form, usually so that one is of Germanic, and the other of Romance origin. Together with long strings of adverbials, this considerably adds to the length of the clause. Bearing this in mind, then, the statistics given in Tables 1 and 2 do not reflect as fully as they might to the extent which the rate of exbraciation has declined in the language.

G. Social and stylistic considerations

It has not been possible from the texts here to determine, social and stylistic variation with respect to the brace construction. The results of certain texts (for example the Brabantish text for 1550 which shows an exceptionally low frequency of exbraciation, and is in fact an exceptional text in many other aspects of its syntax as we saw in Chapter 4) does imply that there is stylistic variation between individual writers with regard to the brace. As shown by Romaine (1982), an investigation into the sociolinguistic aspects of change within the sentence brace would require a very much larger sample of texts than is used here, and if possible a wide range of writers of different backgrounds, professions, education etc.. Fortunately, such a study has been carried out, although on the German language, by Ebert (1980). He examines the development of the embraciation in main and dependent

clauses in German from 1300-1600. In addition to several linguistic variables which he examines informally, using computational methods, he makes a detailed investigation of his data with respect to various sociolinguistic factors such as style of text, and social characteristics of the author; namely, age, sex, class, education and profession. The data he uses comes from the written documents of 41 individuals from the city of Nuremberg. Since the syntax of both German and Dutch at this time are comparable, and since Ebert's time period corresponds with the one chosen here, his findings have direct bearing on the present study. It is worth, then, briefly considering Ebert's results.

Ebert's study revealed that four variables, time, style, profession and education have significant effects on the frequency of exbraciation. His results showed an interesting point with respect to the factor of time; namely, that in both main and dependent clauses (trends were more obvious, though, in dependent clauses) the use of the full brace construction decreased from the 14th to the 15th century (i.e. a rise of exbraciation) but rose to an even greater usage in the 16th century (i.e. then a sharp decrease in the rate of exbraciation). Unfortunately, I have little data here for the 15th century. Nonetheless, texts of the 14th century together with the one Hollandish text of 1450 do suggest an increasing tendency towards exbraciation in the language at this time. And an informal analysis which I have made of 14th century legal texts also supports this. In addition, present data does confirm the decrease from the 16th century in exbraciation which Ebert also found in his German data.

Strangely, the informal letter style displayed less exbraciation than either the formal letter style or the style of diaries and chronicles. This conflicts with the results discovered by Jansen (1978) for Modern Dutch. Jansen shows that exbraciation in Dutch today is more a feature of informal style.

Profession and education, as pointed out by Ebert were closely related (remembering also that the lower stratum of society as regards education and profession are totally unrepresented in Ebert's sample; cf. p.361). Since in many instances the education of the writer was unknown and had anyway to be inferred from the profession of that person, Ebert considered these two variables together.

With respect to this variable of profession/education, individuals were not able to be compared directly because they differed according to the additional factors of time and style. In general, however, university educated administrators were found to have the highest use of the brace. Administrators, merchants and women with a convent or German school education came next. Administrators and merchants used the brace more frequently than artisans, students, nuns and secular women. Nuns with a convent education showed a higher frequency than nuns of a women's school education and secular women. The two lower groups of men did not contrast significantly with the nuns, but they did with the secular women.

The age of some individuals could not be determined. When it could it proved to be insignificant. The sex of the individual was strongly correlated with education since different sexes received different educations.

As Ebert writes (p.360), he does not attempt to analyse all possible linguistic factors. He examines only a few factors which seem to interact with his social, stylistic and time variables. Ebert's conclusions regarding the linguistic factors corroborate with the conclusions reached here. His results revealed that of single constituents outside the brace only 0.3% were single pronouns (4 out 1546 examples of exbraciated constituents), and only 3.17% were single adverbs (57 examples). The constituents which exbraciated the most were prepositional phrases which comprised 72.4% of the exbraciated material. Complex noun phrases (those noun phrases followed by a relative clause or *dass*-complement clause syntactically dependent on the noun phrase) as already mentioned showed a higher rate of exbraciation. These grammatical factors were found to interact with the factors of time, style and social group in the following way.

> "In the most general terms, the periods, styles and groups with higher rates of full frames had a higher proportion of prepositional phrases and complex noun phrases and a lower proportion of obligatory constituents among the postposed constituents" (p.387-388)

With respect to rhythmic phenomena Ebert's results were not clear. He states that

> "...there was some suggestion, though, that higher rates of full frames corresponded to longer full frames, longer partial frames and longer strings of postposed constituents" (p.388)

This correspondence is such that

> "...the groups with higher rates of full frames have (1) more words inside the frame, (2) a lower proportion of postposed single constituents vs. multiple constituents and (3) more words both inside and outside the partial frame" (p.380)

It is clear then from Ebert's study that sociolinguistic variables such as style, and social group have a strong effect on the rate of exbraciation. These factors also interact with time and certain linguistic variables.

H. Pragmatic considerations

From the above it is clear that exbraciation is strongly affected by grammatical considerations of clause and constituent type, as well as certain rhythmic phenomena (length of clause, length and complexity of constituents). Findings here suggest that exbraciation is also a pragmatically controlled phenomenon. And the factors involved are precisely those which we saw controlled the verb-second/verb-final variation discussed in Chapter 4.

Wunderlich and Reis (1924) proposed that the function of the brace could be viewed as a signal for the end of the sentence. This was marked by the final placement of a word closely related to one early in the sentence, thus forming a brace around what was a complete unit. Everything which fell within the brace was then a part of that unit. Dunbar (1979) in a sense develops this idea, and in his investigation of subordinate clause phenomena in the early Germanic languages, he presents evidence to support his claim that the brace construction is essentially a matter for pragmatics. He says of Old High German subordinate clause constituents:

> "...the more likely these elements were to be interpreted as "topical", the less likely they were to appear beyond the verb. Hence the more a sentence consisted of strictly topical material, the greater the likelihood of V-F order in subordinate clauses. In essence, it appears that one function of the sentence-brace in the Old High German subordinate clause was to contain topical material" (p.176)

Theme and topic are used interchangeably by Dunbar in very much the same way as this present study. As in Chapter 4 here, Dunbar also assumes topic/theme to characterize 'what the sentence (or discourse) is about'. This usually means old or established information, that which is assumed knowledge of both speaker and hearer (except in the case of a topic-switch). Theme/topic is therefore characteristically "pragmatically presupposed" (cf. Dunbar p.9).

It remains now to be seen how Dunbar's claims are supported by the data here. The most interesting part of his argument has to do with hierarchy of elements with respect to the frequency of exbraciation. Let me repeat both Dunbar's hierarchy for Old High German (a), and that which has been proposed here for Middle Dutch (b).

(a) Old High German	(b) Middle Dutch
prepositional phrases	adverbial phrases
genitive/indirect objects	nominal/adjective predicates
direct objects	direct objects
predicate nominals	genitive/indirect objects
subjects	adverbs
(pronouns)	subjects
	(pronouns)

Dunbar points out that his hierarchy is in fact almost the exact mirror image of a hierarchy proposed by Keenan and Comrie (1977) for the "accessibility of noun phrases for relativization", a hierarchy later adopted by Kuno (1976:427) as the"hierarchy of accessibility to thematic interpretation of NP's"; i.e. the hierarchy for likely topicality of elements. This then is the hierarchy, arranged here in order of increasing topicality. Note that 'pronouns' is Dunbar's addition. They were omitted from the original hierarchy. For obvious reasons they are the highest in the list of topical elements.

possessive nominative
object of preposition
indirect object
direct object
subject
(pronouns)

Those elements which are the least likely to exbraciate, then, are according to this hierarchy also those elements which are the most topical. Note that the results here which placed indirect objects before direct objects in the likelihood of exbraciation (i.e. the

opposite of Dunbar's order) does not necessarily conflict with the hierarchy of topicality. As was mentioned, the extremely low frequency of exbraciation shown by indirect objects here was due to the very high percentage of *pronoun* indirect objects which comprised the sample. So the low tolerance of exbraciation shown by indirect objects here can be attributed to their high degree of topicality. And as will be shown below, the very high rate of exbraciation of predicate adjectives and nominals in this data also has pragmatic motivations.

Exbraciated material, then, is likely to be non-topical, rhematic material; i.e. usually unknown information, that which can not be understood from the context and that which is not shared by the speaker and hearer. Material which is not presupposed, and which is therefore the assertive part of the utterance, is the most likely material to stand outside the brace. We noted above that longer constituents showed a greater tendency to exbraciate. This we accounted for in terms of rhythmic considerations, or the 'principle of end weight'. But it can also be explained in these terms of the given new distinction. New ideas will typically require longer phrases to identify them, while things which are given can be expressed more briefly. For this reason also, then, exbraciated material will typically carry new information while given information will remain in the brace.(4)
The subject, the likeliest candidate for topic, will usually stand at the beginning according to the pragmatic principle of new information - old information as the neutral pattern for discourse structures. Consider, however, the examples of exbraciated subject here. The following examples are taken from the Brabantish text of 1300.

44. Doen wert mi vertoent *ene selsenne ghelike: twee coninckriken...*
'Then was revealed to me a strange likeness: two kingdoms...'

45. Metten sevende slaghe worden ontploken *alle hemele van elcs hemels rike in eewliker glorien*
'On the seventh beat were opened all heavens of each kingdom of heaven in eternal glory'

46. Ende mi worden vertoent *die drie overste Inghele die thronne die cherubinne die cheraphinne*
'And to me were revealed the three highest angels, the throne, the cherubin, the seraphin'

47. Ende na de iij. lessen wart mi vertoent in enen gheeste
een lettel wonders
'And after the third lesson was revealed to me in a vision something wonderful'

48. Ende doe op waren ghedaen *die twee nederste zeghele vanden vloghelen dies anschijns*
'And then were opened the two undermost seals of the wings of the apparition'

49. ...daer mi wart ghetoent *ene hoghe gheweldeghe stat*
'...where to me was revealed a high awe-inspiring place'

As I see it then, there are three ways in which a subject can appear outside the brace.

i) If the subject is 'heavy' (either by being composed of a number of conjoined elements, or being followed by a relative clause or participial construction dependent upon it) then for either rhythmic reasons or perceptual ease it will appear outside the brace.

ii) A subject will exbraciate if it can be conceived of as new information. This can occur in cases of topic-switch, or where the subject is low in topicality because of the topicalization of another sentence element or because it is introduced for the first time into the discourse, as in a presentative or existential construction.(5)

iii) The subject can be shifted out of its usual position; i.e. sentence-initial, in cases of emphasis or focus. This can occur when the subject is thought of as a surprise, something like that which is conveyed in the English - 'And there at the door all bedraggled and wet stood the little dog...'. This sort of delaying technique is often a stylistic device used by authors to create suspense. As indicated by the English, it is a highly marked construction. No examples of this could be found in the data here.

The highly rhematic character of the exbraciated subjects in examples (44) - ((49) is guaranteed by the fact that they are all subjects of passive constructions. They are all new participants, introduced for the first time into the discourse. In fact, examples (44), (46) and (47) occur at the beginning of the discourse, and like traditional

initial story-tale openers set the scene by presenting the topic. It is likely that the factor of 'weight' also contributes here to the exbraciation of these subjects, since a number of them are 'heavy' and would therefore favour exbraciation.

Examples (24) and (25) from the same text but given earlier here, are both illustrations of (ii). Example (24), as mentioned, is a presentative construction, whereby a new character is introduced into the scene. Example (37), also given earlier, shows a split subject, whereby the topic pronoun subject *hi* is expanded by the addition of new supplementary information.

An example of an exbraciated subject functioning as a topic-switch can be seen in (50) below.

50. Hieraf sullen soete cauwoorden comen blinckende ende *lange cauwoorden*

'Herewith sweet pumpkins come gleaming and long pumpkins' (Br. 1500)

The writer now switches the topic of his discourse and turns to the best methods of planting the long variety of pumpkin.

There are, then, two kinds of exbraciation triggered by pragmatic principle of 'new information last'.

i) The exbraciation of non-topical material, information which is new to the central theme of the discourse. Material will include natural rhematic material such as prepositional phrases, objects and the rarer appearance of a non-topical subject

ii) The exbraciation of topical material for the purpose of emphasis or focus. This is a less common, and highly marked construction.

If the function of the brace is to contain topical material, as Dunbar claims, then those clauses which carry the bulk of new information should show a greater tendency towards exbraciation. And the data here show exactly this. A hierarchy of clauses was found to exist with respect to the frequency of exbraciation. This hierarchy is repeated below in order of increased likelihood of exbraciation.

relative clauses
adverbial clauses
dat-complement clauses
main clauses

Dunbar (Chapter 3) proposes a hierarchy of clauses with respect to the ability of a clause to change the topic of discourse. The following is this hierarchy arranged in order of increasing ability to contain topic-switch.

relative clauses
conjunct subordinate clauses
main clauses
(p.176)

By conjunct subordinate clause, Dunbar means any subordinate clause which is not a relative clause. Dunbar does not, then, distinguish *dat*-type clauses in his hierarchy, although, as we shall see, they are the most assertive of all subordinate clauses and therefore belong very high in the hierarchy.

Main clauses as we have discussed in Chapter 4 carry the bulk of new information. They are, therefore, the most assertive and in the structure of discourse the least "bound" pragmatically of all clause types. For this reason, main clauses are more susceptible to pragmatic devices such as topicalization, focusing etc.. Relative clauses, at the other end of the hierarchy, are much less assertive, and in the discourse are those clauses which are the most pragmatically "bound" (cf. Dunbar p.38, Givón 1976a:167, Vennemann 1972:80 and also 1973a,1974). The information content of relative clauses tends to be presupposed, and for that reason processes like topicalization are not applicable. As Hooper and Thompson (1973:472) observe, it is "inappropriate to emphasize elements in a sentence whose proposition is already known, whose truth is presupposed, and whose content is relegated to the background".

Just as Dunbar (p.177) notes a correlation to exist between non-verb-final order in Old High German and clausal dependency, so too does such a correlation exist in Middle Dutch. Less "bound" clauses - clauses which "must by necessity carry on the topic of discourse" - have a much higher rate of exbraciation than those less assertive clauses which show a greater degree of contextual dependency.

Pragmatic accounts of clausal word order are by no means new in the

literature. As Dunbar points out, people have been suggesting pragmatic motivations (together with rhythmic considerations) since the 19th century.(6)

And what here has been given a pragmatic account, has also been described by a number of people in purely syntactic terms. The first attempt was made by Greenberg (1966:104) at the end of his famous paper "Some Universals of Grammar".

> "On the whole, the higher the construction in an immediate constituent hierarchy, the freer the order of the constituent elements"

Non-embedded clauses, then, show more flexibility of word order than do embedded clauses.

Emonds (1976) also accounts for the difference in word order patterns shown by clauses in syntactic terms by reference to his structure-preserving constraint (cf. also discussion in Canale 1978:13-17). Emonds makes a distinction here between root and non-root sentences.

> "A root S (sentence) is an S that is not dominated by a node other than S" (p.2)

Root sentences correspond to what in traditional terms are called independent main or conjoined main clauses. The term structure-preserving is used by Emonds to refer to those transformations which create structures which are the same as those generated by the phrase-structure rules. Assuming, then, as we have done, that the basic order in Middle Dutch is SVO, structure-preserving transformations move or delete elements while still preserving this basic order. Transformational processes like left-dislocation and topicalization, on the other hand, are non-structure-preserving because they do not maintain this order; i.e. they move elements into positions which are not provided for by the phrase-structure rules. According to the Structure-Preserving Constraint, such transformations can only apply in root sentences. Non-root sentences must preserve the basic sentence patterns generated by the base. Examples of non-root transformations then, are passivization, 'dummy' *there*-insertion and cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions.

Such syntactic rules which can only apply to main clauses have been termed in the literature "main clause phenomena" (Green 1976:383-84).

Exbraciation, then, could therefore be described as an example of main clause phenomena. By moving elements outside the brace, it alters the ordering generated by the base rules. But as we have seen, exbraciation can occur (although admittedly less frequently) in dependent clauses (i.e. non-root sentences) in Middle Dutch. This should correctly be a violation of Emonds' Structure Preserving Constraint.

Emonds (p.6-8), however, does suggest that his definition may be too limiting in the root sentences it distinguishes and should be extended to encompass certain dependent clauses (cf. discussion Canale 1978: Chapter 2 where it is shown that certain Old English data also fail to be captured by Emonds' structure-preserving schema). Hooper and Thompson (1973) point out that root-transformations can occur in those dependent clauses which are equally, if not more assertive than the main clauses on which they depend. Their notion of a relationship between root-transformations and the degree of assertion shown by clauses offers the same pragmatic account as that of Dunbar (and is essentially what Paul 1920 was implying in his account of clausal dependency, cf. footnote 6).

Dat-complement clauses are clearly the most assertive of dependent clauses. In a number of instances, they can represent the main assertion of the sentence. Main clauses on which they depend grammatically like *eest dat sake, dat* ('is it the case, that'), *eest, dat* ('is it, that'), *ghi sult weten, dat* ('you should know, that'), *hi seit, dat* ('he says, that') could be described as simply sentence openers or devices for introducing new information. The bulk of information is clearly carried in the dependent *dat*-clause. In fact, in such examples *dat* can be omitted totally (in which case main clause word order is required). In Chapter 4 we saw how *dat*-clauses and a restricted group of adverbial clauses (generally headed by the connectives *als* and *gelijck*) showed more tolerance of certain root transformations like topicalization and left-dislocation. Appropriately, the same clauses show the highest rates for exbraciation of items. And in Chapter 6 we shall see more examples of the greater mobility which these clauses permit their constituents.

Not surprisingly, relative clauses, as mentioned, are the most presupposed of dependent clauses; i.e. the most "bound", and therefore, display the least tolerance of these so-called main clause phenomena in the present data. Of relevance here is a fact which was mentioned earlier in Chapter 3 on the classification of clause types in this study. This concerns the difficulty which exists at times in distinguishing between subject relative clauses and main clauses. In such cases it is impossible to tell whether the pronoun heading the clause is a demonstrative or a relative pronoun.(7) Genuine cases of ambiguity have been omitted from the sample. However, it is conceivable that a number of main clauses have here been wrongly assigned relative clause status. I mention this here because of a strange fact which has emerged from the results with respect to exbraciation. It appears that although relative clauses do show in general a much lower percentage of exbraciation, as one would expect in light of the above, they do, however, show a consistently much higher percentage of no brace (i.e. S V_1 (V_2) X main clause order) as opposed to partial brace than any other dependent clause type.

Another factor which would contribute to the high degree of no brace constructions in relative clauses is the frequency these clauses occur with the main verb *heten* and *noemen*, which consistently place their complements clause finally, as we have seen. The preference for final position of the complements of these verbs can be seen to have a pragmatic motivation also; that is, if it is true, as Dunbar maintains (and as is strongly suggested by the data here) that non-topical material appears outside the brace. Clearly the complements of verbs like *heten*, where the author is defining the substance/plant/disease (i.e. topic) he is describing, have a high new information content.

To summarize then, it is apparent that, while you can talk about the grammatical factors which affect the rate of exbraciation there are clearly also pragmatic forces at work. Exbraciation can be seen as a function of the pragmatics of the clause and its constituents. Dunbar, Givón and others have observed that clauses carrying the main assertion of the sentence/discourse show more flexibility of word order. It is in such clauses that pragmatic processes such as topicalization and

focusing devices will play a more important role. Accordingly, the hierarchy of clauses with respect to the increased likelihood of exbraciation corresponds with the hierarchy of clauses arranged in order of increasing assertiveness. In the same way, elements which are less assertive, therefore more topical, will be placed within the brace construction, while those more assertive in character will tend to appear outside the brace. And Dunbar's dissertation has shown that such pragmatic factors are still at work in modern German to control non-V/F order in subordinate clauses.

The dynamic repercussions of this are that main clauses and those dependent clauses which allow main clause phenomena are more innovative in their syntax, and will therefore be the first to reflect a shift in their word order. As Dunbar notes (p.13), it has often been observed in the literature (references, in fact, date back to Reis 1901) that subordinate clauses are more conservative in their syntax. Li and Thompson (1976:457) describe it as a "well-known principle". Givón (1977:246) refers to "the time-honoured observation that in general subordinate clauses change their syntax more slowly". Givón (1974, 1977, 1979) shows specifically how discourse structure and topicality can account for the conservative nature of subordinate clause syntax. Similarly, Vennemann (1972, 1974) observes that innovations begin in main clauses where devices like topicalization play a more important role, and then under analogy spread to subordinate clauses. Stockwell (1977) and Canale (1978) maintain this to be the case with changes in the word order patterning of Old English. Lightfoot (1978: 71-72) points out that a change beginning in main clauses and then spreading to subordinate clauses is what would be predicted by Emonds' "Structure-Preserving Constraint".

Why did exbraciation decline in Middle Dutch?

In line with the traditional position, it is assumed here that the order of Proto-Germanic was SOV (cf. discussion Chapter 8). The brace construction in Middle Dutch main and subordinate clauses is then a relic of this old order, as Middle Dutch gravitates towards SVO syntax. Why did Middle Dutch, unlike English, not complete this shift?

Stockwell (1977) in discussing the word order changes which have taken place in Old English notes "that there are a number of structural

motivations within the syntax of Old English that considerably strengthen the tendency to exbraciate" (p.299) and which account therefore for the final destruction of the brace construction in English. He identifies various rightward movement rules which violate the brace, to such an extent that speakers are able to abduce the generalization that "verbs precede their complements" (p.310). The following, then, are those processes in Old English which destroy the verbal closure of the brace.(8)

i) Extraposition of relative clauses
ii) Extraposition of conjuncts
iii) Extraposition of appositives
iv) Placement of adverbs and "afterthought" patterns outside the brace
v) Extraposition of sentential objects and subjects

Stockwell also points out that 83% of all the sentences he analysed in the Parker Manuscript comprised simple tenses; i.e. $SV_1O(V_2)$ = SOV. Since there is nothing remaining of any complex verb in final position, this helps to strengthen the impression that verbs are followed by their complements.

Why, then, did Middle Dutch speakers not follow the same path as English speakers in the grammaticalization of SV_1V_2O order in main clauses? This fact is puzzling when you consider that in the 14th century both dialects exbraciated more than 50% in main clauses, and the Hollandish text of 1450 as high as 70%. Why did Dutch chooseto grammaticalize the brace? Gerritsen (1980:133) argues that the first three motivations for exbraciation which Stockwell identifies in Old English "were too rare to destroy the verb final appearance of Middle Dutch surface clauses". Data here suggest, however, that they were not infrequent. Relative clauses were rarely embedded in the brace (although it is true that from the 16th century onwards, in keeping with the general decline of exbraciation, they did appear more frequently within the brace). And as already discussed, in early Middle Dutch it was more common for complex noun phrases with dependent relatives (or reduced relatives formed with a participial construction) to exbraciate. Similarly, particularly 'heavy' noun phrases showed a definite preference for either shifting totally out of the brace, or splitting and placing

half after the verb; e.g. OV + O (Stockwell's conjunct extraposition). And although perhaps not as common, there is also evidence in the present data for the existence of the right-dislocation of appositives, Stockwell's third motivation. Gerritsen does agree that the postposing of adverbials and 'afterthoughts' did occur in Middle Dutch, as did the rightward movement of sentential subjects and objects, but questions "whether it occurred with the same force as in Old English" (p.134).

With respect to Stockwell's final point, Gerritsen does point out that complex verbs were certainly not as rare in Middle Dutch as they appeared to be in Old English. In fact, her data comprised 36% of clauses with complex verbs. Present data do show a higher proportion of complex verbs than Stockwell gave for Old English. But as Table 20 shows, there is, as might be expected, considerable variation throughout the texts.

TABLE 20	Percentage of complex verbs in main clauses	
	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
1300	31%	37%
1350	52%	42%
1450	-	51%
1500	71%	58%
1550	34%	-
1600	46%	59%
1650a	37%	31%
1650b	58%	-

A greater proportion of complex verbs as opposed to simple verbs would, as Gerritsen points out, hinder Middle Dutch speakers in abducing a new pattern of verbs followed by their complements. Nonetheless, since there is so much textual variation, more Old English texts should be checked to confirm whether complex verb forms are as rare as Stockwell's data suggest. In a later article, Gerritsen (1982b) examines the different developments of the periphrastic tense construction in the various Germanic languages and it seems her findings do in fact support Stockwell's claims. She argues that it was the slower development from synthetic to analytic constructions in the tense system of English (and Scandinavian) which contributed to the disappearance of the brace; i.e.

the tendency to exbraciate in these languages was strengthened because of the synthetic character of their verb systems. The greater analycity of the verb systems of Dutch, Frisian and German, on the other hand, strengthened the tendency to embraciate and according to Gerritsen was responsible for the grammaticalization of the brace in these languages. Even given the validity of Stockwell's and Gerritsen's claims, however, they can not account for the fact that Dutch (and German; cf. section G above) seemed very definitely to be on the way to losing the brace during the 14th and 15th centuries. The question still remains - why did Dutch and German increase their use of embraciation after the 16th century?

It has been traditionally regarded that influence from Latin was responsible for the retention of SOV patterns in Middle Dutch, and in German (cf. Lehmann1971 for German). Behaghel (1930:33), for example, states with reference to the stabilization of the verb-final position in German subordinate clauses:

> "Es sei nur erwähnt, dass die schriftsprachliche Endstellung des Verbums im Neuhochdeutschen lateinischer Einwirkung ihr Dasein verdankt"

Although another "time-honoured explanation", it has never, as Ebert (1978:41-42) also points out, been suported by any satisfactory empirical evidence. Ebert reports on a study by Fleishmann (1973) in which he shows that the explanation of Latin influence has no support from the influen ial Latin grammar of the 16th century, the *Grammatick Melanchtons* (1572), which in fact does not demand verb-final order in subordinate clauses. Fleischmann goes on to attribute verb-final order in German subordinate clauses to school grammars of the time which made this order a stringent rule. But this still begs the question as to why these school grammars should in the first place have chosen to promote the end position of the verb to such a status. In addition, the question of the brace construction in main clauses remains totally ignored.

Ebert's later study of the sociolinguistic aspects of the German brace construction (1980) claims that individual usage of the brace also does not support the explanation of direct influence from Latin. Those individuals whose training in the Latin language would have been the best did not show significantly lower rates of exbraciation than others. One fact I find puzzling, however, is that Ebert's results do reveal that

both university administrators and convent educated nuns did in general have the highest rates for the brace construction which would in fact seem to me to be very strong support for the argument of Latin influence. But I will return to this again below.

A number of linguists (Admoni 1962, and Schildt 1976 as discussed in Ebert 1980:381-382) look to the spoken language as the motivation behind the sudden high rate of exbraciation. Admoni, for example, speculates that the spoken language typically comprised short sentences with full braces and that this pattern was then generalized to the emerging written language, where it came to be used regardless of the length of the sentence. This is not, however, supported by the data here which show there always to have existed a correlation in the written language between the length of clauses and exbraciation. And Ebert's findings also give no support to this claim. Although the fact that the brace construction appears to have the highest rate in the informal letter style would seem to suggest spoken language influence, this is not supported by the variation Ebert discovers in the social stratification. One would expect those groups with the least education to have the greatest usage of the brace. Ebert's findings, however, reveal just the opposite. Greatest use of the brace is by university administrators, other administrators and merchants. This fact suggested to Ebert that influence came rather from the written tradition of law and city administration with which such individuals would have been very familiar. To investigate this, Ebert examined those chancery documents of Nuremberg from the late 13th century to 1595. Results support his hypothesis.

> "The comparison of chancery rates with the rates of individuals revealed that in dependent clauses these rates were about the same in the 14th century, that the chancery surged ahead of individuals in the 15th century and that in chancery usage in the 16th century verb-final order was nearly an absolute rule"
> (p.388)

The pattern of social stratification found by Ebert does also support his findings. Administrators and merchants who would have had the most contact with such official language had the highest percentage of full brace. Students, artisans, secular women who had much less contact with official language showed much less. Ebert concludes that:

> "...the chancery usage served as a model for the very high rates of full frames which developed in the written usage of individuals in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries" (p.388)

An informal analysis of Middle Dutch legal documents here lends strong support to Ebert's findings. The rate of exbraciation is very much lower in these texts which certainly seems to point to the use of legal language as a prestige model for the stabilization of verb-final order in subordinate clauses (and the brace in main clauses).

But it still remains to be solved why the chancery language stabilized the brace construction, and here once more I turn to the question of Latin influence. I can not see that Ebert's findings (supported by the findings here) are unsympathetic to the explanation of Latin influence, perhaps not direct influence, but certainly influence from the individual's idea of the Latin style required of such documents. It was not until the late 13th century that the original hegemony of Latin began to be undermined by the breakthrough of the vernacular into written texts.(9) But the use of Latin certainly did not end here (in the registers and judgements issued by the Paris Parliament, for example, Latin continued to be used into the 16th century). And with the emergence of the vernacular in Dutch legal documents and charters, the influence of Latin was still very obvious. Some documents continued to be composed in Latin, and for those in the vernacular Latin certainly provided the model for form and style.

It is quite plausible, that the stabilization of the brace in these documents arises from the attempts of the scribes (who anyway tended to be clerics with a Latin-based education) to imitate what they considered to be a good Latin style. Certainly specialized subject matter as contained in these documents encourages a more rigid formal language, which is particularly resistant to change. This would account for why these documents so successfully resist the increased tendency in the language towards exbraciation. The fact that these documents could become a prestige model for language users of the time to follow, is explained by considering the massive changes which were occurring in medieval society during that period. Illiteracy was declining. Those new literate groups which were emerging began to strive for knowledge, especially knowledge in law, and attached great importance to those documents in which their legal and professional rights were set out.

And certainly one can not ignore the Humanistic Movement of the 16th century which helped to promote Latin to the prestigeous position it enjoyed during this time (nowhere better evident than in the Dutch grammars which endeavoured to force Dutch into the very desired Latin mould). And influence from German can not be ruled out. During this time it was also in the process of stabilizing its brace construction. I suggest that it is also this indirect influence from Latin which is responsible for the low rate of exbraciation for the Brabantish text of 1550. The author of this text, Dodoens, we know to have been well versed in Latin. Most of his works were written in Latin, including an earlier shorter version of the work examined here. It seems plausible to assume, therefore, that his greater use of the brace construction is due to interference from his knowledge of Latin.

Of course, explanations of foreign influence are extremely difficult to prove in cases of syntax. Whether the Dutch brace construction should more correctly be attributed to Latin or German influence, or whether it is an instance of independently motivated change is impossible to answer. It is at least safe to say, that the decline of exbraciation and the stabilization of verb-final order in subordinate clauses (and presumably the brace in main clauses) were changes in the language which were accelerated by Latin and German influence. Other factors, mentioned earlier, would also have played a role.

Earlier we discussed the development of Middle Dutch towards reliable grammatical marking of subordination. And the problems which surrounded the ambiguous status of certain sentence connectives might have prompted the need for a distinguishable word order in both main and subordinate clauses. As Dutch, then, moved from a more flexible to a fixed word order, the brace can be seen to have had two very different functions during this time.

i) The brace serves the pragmatic function of distinguishing the topic.
ii) The brace serves the grammatical function of distinguishing subordinate from main clauses.

Jansen (1981) states that adverbial phrases show the highest frequency of exbraciation. Approximately one third of the utterances in his corpus which contain a prepositional phrase places it outside the brace.

No difference exists between main and subordinate clauses in this respect (cf. Jansen 1978:85 for sociolinguistic variation). Occasionally single adverbs appear outside the brace (approximately 8%), but as Jansen (1981:31) points out this is still non-standard usage and is correlated strongly with informal style and lower class speakers. Subjects and objects still only rarely appear outside the brace. Dutch seems a long way from giving up the brace construction.

5.4 The order of the auxiliary and non-finite verb

This section investigates briefly the problem of the ordering within the complex verb construction in dependent clauses.
As mentioned above, Modern Dutch shows considerable fluctuation in the relative ordering of the auxiliary and non-finite verb forms. If the verbal complex is made up of an auxiliary and past participle, either may appear in final position and there is considerable disagreement between speakers as to the preferable order. Most grammar books will maintain, however, that the auxiliary is more often placed last, although they add that the deciding factor is probably rhythmic.

51. Zij zei dat ze het niet *gevonden heeft (heeft gevonden)*
    'She says that she hasn't found it'

52. Hij verdient niet veel, omdat hij ziek *geworden is (is geworden)*
    'He is not earning much, because he got sick'

53. Hij zei dat de brief door mij *geschreven werd (werd geschreven)*
    'He says that the letter was written by me'

If the verbal complex is made up of a modal auxiliary and infinitive, the infinitive usually appears last, although once again, both orders are permitted.

54. Hij komt niet, omdat hij vandaag *moet werken (werken moet)*
    'He is not coming because he has to work today'

55. Hij zei dat hij het niet *kon vinden (vinden kon)*
    'He says that he couldn't find it'

56. Ik weet niet of hij het *zal kopen (kopen zal)*
    'I don't know if he will buy it'

It is clear that much more work is needed in this area to determine the conditioning factors behind the alternative word orders. It is likely that not only rhythmic factors are involved, but also lexical and stylistic considerations.(10)

In Modern German the situation is straightforward - the auxiliary always appears in final position (except in certain constructions with three verb parts which need not concern us here). Earlier stages of the language, however, showed the same complex variation as Modern Dutch, conditioned by a number of interacting variables, including lexical, rhythmic, social and stylistic variables (cf. Ebert 1981). The stabilization of auxiliary-final order is usually attributed to Latin influence (Maurer 1926, Behaghel 1932).
Ebert maintains, however, that the results of his study refute this hypothesis, and suggest rather the influence to have come once more from chancery usage. But once again I can only see this as support for the explanation of Latin influence - although not direct influence. Latin style, or at least what was considered to be good Latin style, was without doubt the model used for these chancery documents.

Let us now examine the ordering of the auxiliary (AUX) and non-finite verb (V) in the early stages of Dutch, at least as it is represented in the texts here. As in Ebert's study, only those constructionswith contiguous ordering of AUX and V are considered. In addition, constructions must contain only two verbal parts, since those of more than two parts behave slightly differently with respect to ordering. Consequently, the following examples are not included in the sample.

57. Het dunkt mij onmoghelijc dat enighe surgien sonder letteren *souden moghen begrypen* die konste der surginen
'It seems impossible to me that any surgeons without learning (illiterate) would be able to understand the art of surgery' (Br. 1350)

58. ...twelck ghi te voren met cleenen cost *gedaen zoudt hebben*
'...which you should have done earlier at a small cost' (Br. 1650)

The following four AUX V constructions were distinguished here:

1. Modal (*sullen, mogen, moeten, laten, kunnen* and *durven*) + infinitive
2. Auxiliary (*werden*) + past participle (passive)

3. Auxiliary (*hebben*) + past participle (past)
4. Auxiliary (*sijn*) + past participle (past)

(cf. Appendix 1 for the description of tenses)

The following tables, then, give the percentage for AUX + V order for each of the above construction types (1) - (4). Table 21 gives the results for Brabantish, Table 22 for Hollandish.

TABLE 21 Percentage of AUX + V order in Brabantish dependent clauses

1300	1	40%	(53)		
	2	1/3			
	3	38%	(26)	36%	(47)
	4	33%	(18)		
1350	1	54%	(54)		
	2	6/8			
	3	31%	(16)	40%	(68)
	4	36%	(44)		
1500	1	9%	(65)		
	2	0/1			
	3	6%	(15)	5%	(44)
	4	4%	(28)		
1550	1	36%	(45)		
	2	0%	(47)		
	3	13%	(39)	7%	(126)
	4	10%	(40)		
1600	1	26%	(94)		
	2	9%	(32)		
	3	11%	(37)	9%	(103)
	4	6%	(34)		
1650a	1	95%	(43)		
	2	6%	(17)		
	3	43%	(30)	27%	(64)
	4	18%	(17)		
1650b	1	97%	(38)		
	2	37%	(54)		
	3	17%	(24)	31%	(85)
	4	2/7			

TABLE 22 Percentage of AUX + V order in Hollandish dependent clauses

1300	1	20%	(30)			
	2	3/8				
	3	2/5		19%	(48)	
	4	11%	(35)			
1350	1	23%	(26)			
	2	1/5				
	3	43%	(14)	19%	(67)	
	4	12%	(48)			
1450	1	27%	(37)			
	2	0/2				
	3	2/7		15%	(20)	
	4	9%	(11)			
1500	1	34%	(56)			
	2	1/1				
	3	7%	(14)	10%	(67)	
	4	10%	(52)			
1600	1	58%	(12)			
	2	7%	(14)			
	3	3%	(30)	3%	(69)	
	4	0%	(25)			
1650	1	74%	(27)			
	2	0%	(15)			
	3	0%	(32)	1%	(94)	
	4	2%	(47)			

It should be noted that clauses were at first divided into relative, adverbial and complement *dat*-clauses. No significant difference, however, could be found to exist between the three clause types with respect to the relative ordering of AUX and V. The *dat*-clauses showed perhaps a slightly greater preference for AUX + V order, but this was not consistent. Similarly, the position of the clause (i.e. initial, medial or final) was not found to be of significance. It was Maurer (1926) who first suggested that clause position was important. He hypothesized that the falling intonation of sentence-final clauses in the early stages of German favoured V + AUX order. No such pattern could be found in the data here, however. And indeed, the results of Ebert's study (p.205-206) also throw considerable doubt on the validity of Maurer's claim.

Ebert's data also suggested that in the period 1300-1500 those dependent clauses in which the verb construction appeared finally favoured the

the order V + AUX. The following table gives the percentage of verb-final clauses for each order AUX + V and V + AUX for all texts examined here.

TABLE 23	Percentage of verb-final dependent clauses			
	BRABANTISH		HOLLANDISH	
	AUX + V	V + AUX	AUX + V	V + AUX
1300	50%	57%	53%	81%
1350	54%	74%	79%	81%
1450	-	-	93%	89%
1500	87%	83%	91%	85%
1550	96%	91%	-	-
1600	70%	88%	78%	90%
1650a	97%	88%	100%	90%
1650b	49%	45%	-	-

Whilst it is true that in the 14th century texts the order V + AUX does show a higher percentage of verb-final clauses (and AUX + V order shows, accordingly, a higher percentage of exbraciated, non-verb-final clauses), the difference is not very great. All texts after this date (with the exception of 1600) show the reverse; i.e. V + AUX order to have a lower proportion of verb-final clauses, but once again the difference is not great enough to be of any significance. In fact, on the whole, both orders show striking agreement as to the proportion of verb-final to non-verb-final clauses. It is difficult to see this factor as having any great influence on the ordering of AUX and V.

Tables 21 and 22 show that, for both dialects, those constructions involving a modal auxiliary and infinitive; i.e. type 1, shows a higher percentage of AUX + V order (and this percentage increases over time) than do the constructions involving an auxiliary and past participle; i.e. types 2 - 4. The findings here, however, do not suggest the same patterns as Ebert's findings for German. His results reveal the following hierarchy with respect to the various verb types and the degree to which they favour V + AUX order. Clauses are arranged in order of

decreasing preference for V + AUX order.

werden + pp > *haben* + pp > modals + inf > *sein* + pp

No such hierarchy has been discovered here, nor does there seem to exist any other consistent pattern between the different verb types and their relative ordering.

As is clear from the first two tables above, there are very obvious differences between developments in the two dialects. Developments in Hollandish show a very definite trend over time towards the situation we now find predominant in the standard language today. Brabantish shows, the same trend, but with periods of considerable fluctuation (especially the 16th century).

In the Hollandish texts of the 14th century, constructions involving both modals and the auxiliaries *werden, hebben* and *sijn* show a marked preference for V + AUX order (only 20% approximately of constructions were AUX + V). And the preference for V + AUX increases steadily over time for auxiliary and past participle constructions until the 17th century where it reaches nearly 100%. For modal and infinitive constructions, the preference for AUX + V ordering increases, showing 74% in 1650. As mentioned in footnote 10, these trends in Hollandish certainly suggest the order of verb parts to be much more stable than the grammar books imply. By the 17th century, the order AUX + V for auxiliaries and past participles and the order V + AUX for modals and infinitives had almost disappeared - at least, as suggested by the texts here.

In the Brabantish texts of the 14th century the percentage of AUX + V order for all construction types is considerably higher than for Hollandish of the same period, approximately double. In 1500, however, this figure drops dramatically to below 10%. Modal + infinitive constructions then show an increase of AUX + V order until nearly 100% in the 17th century. As you might predict figures for AUX + V order with respect to auxiliary + past participle constructions remain low (i.e. as for Hollandish at this time, these constructions show predominantly V + AUX order). In 1650, however, there is a puzzling increase of AUX + V, although admittedly the percentage still remains low, 27% and 31% for both texts (a) and (b) respectively.

The Brabantish texts suggest there to be other factors influencing the order within the verb complex. Ebert's findings for German of the same

period reveal social and stylistic variation which influenced the path of development with respect to the ordering of AUX and V.

> "This pattern of social stratification bears the earmarks of a change "from above", from the language of administration downward through the linguistic community of Nuremberg (the speech community of Nuremberg being the object of his study)" (1981:237)

And it is likely that social and stylistic factors are at work in the Dutch texts here. Unfortunately, it is not within the scope of this present study to systematically investigate such factors, although I am sure, as with the question of exbraciation such a study would be revealing.

Rhythmic factors are also undoubtedly involved here. This is certainly not an original observation. Behaghel (1932:87-88) suggested that the rhythmic conditioning of alternating stress patterns strongly influenced the relative ordering of the auxiliary and non-finite verb in early German dependent clauses.

> "Geht der Gruppe eine untonige Silbe oder untonige Silben voraus, so tritt die Nominalform an die erste Stelle; das untonige Verbum finitum erhält die zweite Stelle; es ergibt sich also der Wechsel von Unton, Hochton, Unton. Geht der Gruppe ein Hochton voraus, so erhält das Verbum finitum die Stelle unmittelbar nach diesem Hochton, es folgt die hochtonige Nominalform; es ergibt sich also der Wechsel von Hochton, Unton, Hochton. Von einer strengen Durchführung dieser Neigung, von einem Gesetz also, kann freilich nicht die Rede sein" (1932:87)

It is not entirely clear to me what Behaghel means by his *Hochton* and *Unton*; that is, whether he means here general word stress or syllable stress. His following examples do suggest, however, that he is referring to the overall stress of the word preceding the verb group. For example, pronouns (unless involved in a constrast), conjunctions and certain small adverbs do not bear stress and, therefore, condition the following order V + AUX.

An informal analysis of several texts here did reveal similar rhythmic conditioning factors to those suggested by Behaghel. Such factors were much stronger in their influence on verb groups containing modal auxiliaries and infinitives, rather than those containing auxiliaries and past participles (where at times no consistent pattern of influence

could be detected at all). Interestingly, Behaghel found this also to be the case.

> "Beim Infinitiv ist das Walten des Rhythmus stärker bemerkbar als beim Partizip; ein Grund dieser Verschiedenheit ist nicht zu erkennen" (P.88)

As Behaghel states, it is difficult to see any reason behind this difference. It is to the modal verb groups, then, that the following observations largely refer.

Texts do show a preference for rhythmic patterns of alternating stressed and unstressed words. The following examples are taken from the Brabantish text of 1350.

- the word preceding the verb group is unstressed -

59. ...al men*t* hebben wille 'although one would want to have it'

60. ... hoe men *se* vergaderen sal 'how one should collect it'

61. ...want men met recht dat *niet* ghedoghen en soude
'for one should not rightly suffer that'

62. ...omdat niet *seer* luijden sal
'because (it) should not sound very much'

63. ...hoe men *se* bekennen sal 'how one should recognise them'

- the word preceding theverb group is stressed -

64. ...omdat ment te *lichteliker* sal vinden
'because one should find it easier'

65. ...wat haer *ghedaenten* sullen siin'
'what their thoughts should be'

66. ...dat men op die *wonden* sal leggen medicinen
'that one should put medicines on the wounds'

67. ...dat die *sieke* most baden 'that the patient must bathe'

68. ...soe dat *die wonde* moghen consolideren
'so that the wounds can heal'

Although such rhythmic patterning is a strong tendency in texts here (in some texts stronger than others), as Behaghel (above) also implied it remains only a tendency. There are many counter-examples in all texts.

For example, while we have clause (69) which conforms to the pattern, in the same text we also find clause (70). These examples are taken also from the Brabantish text of 1350.

69. ...dat sanies *uut* mocht vloyen
'so that the discharge could flow out'

70. ...dat sanies niet *uut* vloyen en mocht
'so that the discharge could not flow out'

The following 6 examples taken from the same text indicate the sort of free variation which seems to exist between the alternative orderings of auxiliary and past participle.(11)

71. ...waer dat stuc *onder* ghescoten es
'where the piece (of cranium) has slipped underneath'

72. ...of dat stuck...*onder* ghescoten es
'if the piece has slipped underneath'

73. ...als dat stick altemael onder *tghesonde* es ghescoten
'if the piece has completely slipped underneath the healthy (part of the cranium)'

74. daert *niet* ghescoten en es 'where it has not moved'

75. die die hersenen al *uuit* ghescoten waren
'whose brains had completely slipped out'

76. die die *hersenen* waren uuijt ghescoten also groot als enen doren van enen eye
'whose brains had slipped out as big as a yolk of an egg'

Ebert suggests that in his German data the rhythmic pattern of the verb group itself also influences the ordering of the verb parts found within. For example, verbs with a stressed separable prefix show a much greater preference for AUX + V order (i.e. *kann ankommen* and *an kann kommen* versus the less frequent *ankommen kann*). Accordingly, Ebert concludes that -

> "Viewed from the historical perspective, then, verbs with stressed separable prefixes are the type most resistant to the general development toward absolute or nearly absolute use of the order V + AUX (1981:229)

In the same way, Ebert notes that where the non-finite verb form begins

with an unstressed syllable, there is a higher proportion of V + AUX orders than where the non-finite verb form begins with a stressed syllable. According to Ebert, then, *berichten soll/sollen* (i.e. with singular or plural auxiliary) is the preferred order because it yields an alternating pattern of unstressed and stressed syllables. The order *soll/sollen berichten*, on the other hand, yields the less desirable sequence with consecutive unstressed syllables. It is not entirely clear to me, however, why in this case the *soll* preceding is unstressed to give the sequence of two unstressed syllables, whereas in the order *berichten soll* where it follows it should be stressed (thus yielding the desirable alternation of stress patterns). Nonetheless, Ebert's claims are supported to a certain extent by the data here. The pattern of unstressed and stressed syllables in the verb group itself does seem to influence the relative order of AUX and V. Once more though this sort of rhythmic conditioning is typical of modal auxiliaries and infinitives rather than the verb groups involving past participles. And Ebert found this also to be the case in his data.

> "On the other hand, the data from the syntagms *haben* + p.p. and *sein* + p.p. do not display such clear patterns" (P.208)

The following examples are taken also from the Brabantish text of 1350.

- verbs with stressed separable prefix -

77. ..hoe ment *uut* sal doen 'how one should take it out'

78. ...daer goet vlees *af* soude wassen
'from which good flesh should grow'

79. ...die men *uuiit* most doen 'which one must take out'

80. ...daer ghi dat stuck mede *op* sult lichten
'with which you should lift up the piece'

81. ...als...men dat niet *uut* en kan ghelichten
'if one cannot lift that out'

- verbs beginning with unstressed syllables -

82. ...hoe men die quade *be*kennen sal
'how one should recognise the bad (ulcers)

83. ...dat men die lippen vander wonde *ver*gaderen mach
'so that one can gather the lips of the wound'

84. dat mense met binden niet *ver*gaderen en mach
'so that one cannot gather it with binding'

It is obviously impossible to tell in examples like (84) whether it is the preceding unstressed word which determines the following infinitive, or the fact that the infinitive begins with an unstressed syllable. From the data here, I would maintain that the stress of the preceding word has a stronger influence on the order found within the following verb group. For instance, examples like the following are very much more common; i.e. where the preceding stressed word has conditioned AUX + V order, despite the fact that the infinitive begins with an unstressed syllable.

85. ...dat ic dit werc tot enen goeden *einde* mach vollbrenghen
'that I may carry out this work to a good end'

These two rhythmical conditioning factors; i.e. the stress of the preceding word and the internal syllable stress of the verb group itself, can conflict, therefore, and yield the alternative ordering we find in examples like (69) and (70) above.

Obviously such an informal analysis as presented here is not sufficient to determine the exact degree of influence of these complex rhythmical factors. Preferably, study of these factors should also investigate how they interact with other variables, such as stylistic or social. Ebert's study suggested that this sort of rhythmical conditioning was shared by all social groups and styles although he writes in a footnote -

> "I am pessimistic that enough such samples can be found to determine with precision how these rhythmical factors interact with social, stylistic and geographical factors, if they do at all" (p.209)

Clearly, such a study would require a much larger sample data than is offered here.

Finally Ebert notes that there appear to be additional lexical factors which influence the order of AUX and V. The past participles *geweest/ gewesen* and *worden* less frequently show the order past participle + *sein* than their rhythmical counterparts also with the auxiliary *sein* (for example *gestorben sein*). These lexical differences appear also in the Dutch data here (cf. footnote 10).

This leads me to a final observation; namely, that in the texts here

there are a number of almost formulaic expressions which of course tend to show fixed ordering of elements. The following examples illustrate this.

86. ...daer die pierwormen in ghesoden siin
'in which the earth worms have been boiled' (Br.1350)

87. ...daer mente in ghesoden is
'in which mint has been boiled' (Ho. 1300)

88. ...die inden wijn ghezoden zijn
'which has been boiled in the wine' (Ho. 1300)

89. ...alst welgesoden is
'when it has been well boiled' (Ho. 1300)

90. ...dat dat sop versoden sij
'so that the juice is boiled away' (Ho. 1300)

In addition there are the fixed expressions like *also voerscreven is* ('as has been written above'), *die voerseit is* ('which has been said above') and also *die te voren gheseyt is* ('which has been said earlier') and *als ic voren gheseit hebbe* ('as I have said earlier'). These sort of fixed expressions always show final position of the auxiliary. This may be due to direct Latin influence; i.e. the translation of Latin phrases like *quod dictum est*. In fact, Maurer (1926:168) directly attributes to these sort of Latin phrases the stabilization of V + AUX order in German. The Latin periphrastic perfect passive influenced the corresponding German passive with *sein* (i.e. to give *das gesagt ist*). The V + AUX order then spread to the active periphrastic construction with *sein* and then onto those involving *haben*. Behaghel (1932) also maintains that Latin influence is responsible for the spread of V + AUX order in German (p.87) and like Maurer, attributes it to the model of the Latin periphrastic passive (p.107-108).
Ebert's much more substantial data base, however, refutes this channel of development. For one thing, his data shows the periphrastic construction with *sein* to have the *lowest* proportion of V + AUX order (cf. hierarchy given above).

> "These results soundly refute the hypothesis of an intermediary stage in which V + AUX was more frequent with the active periphrasis *sein* + p.p. than with *haben* + p.p. and with it Maurer's and Behaghel's explanations based on Latin influence" (p.231)

Nonetheless, as I said ealier, Ebert's claims of influence from chancery usage would in fact suggest influence from Latin, even if not direct influence. An informal analysis here of early Dutch legal documents also suggests that the increase in p.p. + AUX order is due to usage here. The diverse development, however, in the modal + infinitive constructions is puzzling. German stabilzed verb-final order for modals, whereas Dutch is on its way to stabilizing modal + infinitive order. The fact that these constructions were always more susceptible to rhythmic factors may have militated against V + AUX order in favour of AUX + V. Why this did not happen in German, where the same rhythmic factors also played an important role, is puzzling. It is also puzzling why modern speakers more readily allow the alternative orders with auxiliaries and past participles (i.e. p.p. + AUX and AUX + p.p.) than for modals and their infinitives (cf. footnote 10). In this respect the order modal + infinitive is more fixed. This sort of variation is interesting, and much more detailed study is needed.

FOOTNOTES

1. Ebert (1980) in his study of the German brace construction does, in fact, count these types of clauses as instances of partial brace.

2. Cf. discussion of subjectless conjoined clauses Chapter 4, section 4.3.

3. With respect to the exbraciation in general of adverbials, a problem arises in the methodology used here. As shown in Chapter 4, there exists in Middle Dutch a group of adverbials (notably, time adverbials and correlative adverbials like *so*) which always appear in sentence-initial position. The problem emerges, then, as to whether or not these sorts of adverbs are to be considered potential candidates for exbraciation - therefore to be included in the total sample size. This was the method adopted for all other constituents. Constituents in all positions were included in the overall total to yield the relative frequency of exbraciation of that constituent. Accordingly, to be consistent in methodology, this procedure was also adopted for adverbials. At most, results omitting these initial adverbials would show a higher percentage of exbraciation, which would not affect the overall trends established by the data here. Adverbials, anyway, show a much higher rate of exbraciation than any other constituent. This fact that the different kinds of adverbials show such very different distributional properties, however, certainly needs more thorough investigation than is offered here.

4. I owe this observation to Dr. D.Bennett.

5. Givón (1976a:174) gives the following hierarchy with respect to topicality of subject types - pronoun > definite > indefinite > existential. Existential subjects have the lowest topicality. They are therefore the most likely to exbraciate.

6. Paul (1920, Volume 4, principally Chapter 13) discusses different degrees of dependency in clauses, corresponding exactly to the idea of clause "boundness". Paul's ideas were briefly mentioned in Chapter 4 but it is relevant here to refer to them once more.

Paul distinguishes between grammatical dependence (signified by surface grammatical markers) and logical dependence. Independent of grammatical markers, clauses may display different degrees of logical dependency. "Der Grad der logischen Abhängigkeit in dem ein Nebensatz zu einem Hauptsatz steht, ist nicht immer der gleiche (p.324)." In the same way, grammatically independent clauses can display logical dependency. A clause is only truly independent if it exists entirely alone. "Vollkommen selbständig ist ein Satz nur, wenn er isoliert für sich hingestellt wird" (p.160). According to Paul, then, discourse structure gives rise to a hierarchy of clauses with respect to the degree of dependency which they show (cf. discussion in Dunbar 1979:29).

7. Since relative clauses are generally presumed to be derived historically from conjunct clauses headed by demonstratives (cf. discussion Stockwell 1977:306 and Canale 1978:73), Canale notes that "since conjunct clauses are root sentences within Emonds' (1976) structure-preserving framework, the emergence of innovations .....in clauses introduced by *se* at the Early Middle OE stages is in no way in conflict with the predictions made by Structure-Preserving Constraint" (p.73).
Stockwell (p.306) warns, however, against assigning these clauses main (or root) clause status.

8. Note that Stockwell here means only motivations of exbraciation in Old English main clauses. Subordinate clauses he assumes to change later on under analogy with main clauses. As he points out (p.296), however, this order of change may be doubtful. Bean (1983), in her analysis of Old English word order, gives evidence that word order patterns in subordinate, relative and conjunctive clauses changed prior to any change in the ordering of main clause constituents. This, of course, disputes the universal claim for conservative syntax in subordinate clauses.

9. For a discussion of the emergence of the vernacular in West Europe cf. Van Caenegem (1978). Specific account of the early use of Dutch in written texts can be found in Prims (1933) and Willemyns (1979).

10. There seems to exist a definite continuum along which speakers can be arranged according to their degree of tolerance of these alternative orders given in brackets. For example, some speakers consulted here were adamant that the orders given in brackets were "wrong". These speakers showed obligatory modal + infinitive order and p.p. + auxiliary order (although when pressed most admitted that auxiliary + p.p. order was also 'possible' but not usual). Other speakers showed much more variation (though the variation was always much greater for the constructions involving auxiliaries and past participles). Other speakers revealed a written-spoken distinction. Whilst they may write the bracketted orders, they would not normally say them. One speaker admitted to lexical differences. Although she preferred *gevonden heeft* in (51), she, nonetheless, preferred *is geworden* in (52). All speakers did agree, however, that the order of AUX and p.p. was much more flexible than of modal and infinitive.

11. In tracing the development of the ordering of AUX and V, a problem emerges in deciding the status of the past participle (and on occasion the present participle); that is, when it is adjectival and when it is verbal, as in the following two examples in italics.

Zietse in honich. Ende alset wael *ghesoden is*, soe clenset. Ende alst *ghecleynst is*....
'Boil it (the licorice root) in honey. And when it has/is well boiled, then clean it. And when it has been/is cleaned....'
(Ho. 1300)

Note that in the perfect passive (as in the pluperfect also) the passive auxiliary *werden* is usually deleted (i.e. *het is ghecleynst gheworden* > *het is ghecleynst* 'It has been/is washed'). This means that in fact *is ghesoden* has three potential translations - 'it has/is/has been boiled'. There can be two problems, therefore - firstly, whether an action or a state is implied (i.e. whether the participle is verbal or adjectival), and secondly, ambiguity occasionally arises as to whether the action is in the active or passive perfect. What concerns us here is this first problem. It was decided that only those clear-cut cases would be assumed

adjectival, as in the following example.

honich dat roet is ende wel *ghespumeert*....
'honey which is red and well fermented...' (Ho. 1300)

All other cases were assumed verbal; i.e. compound tense with AUX + V (as the examples above and examples 71-76 in the text).

CHAPTER 6

TOPIC-PROMINENCE IN MIDDLE DUTCH

6.0 Introduction

It has been suggested here, and elsewhere in the literature, that Middle Dutch represented a stage of pragmatic word order in the language, whereby the different word order patterns were determined by discourse-strategies, and less so by syntactic principles. Considerations of topicality, for example, involved the movement of topical elements to sentence-initial position, followed then by the comment. But exactly to what extent can we say that Middle Dutch word order was organised along these pragmatic lines? Principles of topic-comment ordering are found in most of the languages of the world, if not universally. How, for example, does Middle Dutch differ from Modern Dutch which also makes use of such strategies of discourse? It is suggested here that changes have occurred with respect to the degree of importance played by the notion topic, rather than the subject, in the basic sentence structure of Dutch. In Middle Dutch the topic played a key role in the organisation of sentences. As will be shown below, there existed a productive syntactic system which gave rise to sentence types in which the topic-comment distinction, rather than the subject-predicate distinction formed the basic structure. This is no longer the case.

6.1 Topic- versus subject-prominence

Li and Thompson's (1976) contribution to typological accounts of language has already been briefly discussed (cf. Chapter 2, section 2.3). Here it will be examined in a little more detail. The following is a useful summary of their position.

> "According to our study, there are four basic types of languages: (i) languages that are subject-prominent (a term introduced by E.L. Keenan); (ii) languages that are topic-prominent; (iii) languages that are both subject-prominent and topic-prominent; (iv) languages that are neither subject-prominent nor topic-prominent. In subject-prominent (Sp) languages, the structure of sentences favours a description in which the grammatical relation

> *subject-predicate* plays a major role; in topic-prominent (Tp) languages, the basic structure of sentences favours a description in which the grammatical relation *topic-comment* plays a major role. In type (iii) languages, there are two equally important distinct sentence constructions, the subject-predicate construction and the topic-comment construction; in type (iv) languages, the subject and the topic have merged and are no longer distinguishable in all sentence types" (p.459)

Li and Thompson's general understanding of 'topic' closely resembles the definition adopted here, as discussed earlier in Chapters 4 and 5; namely, that the topic characterizes what the discourse (or the sentence) is about. One characteristic of topic is, therefore, that it is 'given'; that is, except in those instances of topic-switch or of discourse-initial structures where a topic is introduced for the first time (and such structures are universally characterised by exceptional ordering strategies).

More specifically, however, Li and Thompson distinguish topics as having the following seven properties.

i) Topics are always definite, whereas the subjects of sentences clearly need not be.(1)

ii) Topics need not be arguments of the verb. Subjects on the other hand, must always be.

iii) As a consequence of (ii), it is always possible to predict the subject of any given verb. It is not possible, however, to predict the topic in the same way.

iv) The functional role of the topic is defined on the level of discourse, the subject on the level of the sentence.

v) Topic-predicate agreement is rare. Topics are more independent of their comments, than subjects are of their predicates. Verb agreement is, therefore, a feature of subjects and not topics.

vi) What is generally agreed upon to be a universal discourse-strategy places the topic in initial position. There is no such obligatory placement of the subject.

vii) Subjects are involved in certain grammatical processes (such as passivization, for example), while topics typically are not.

Topic-prominent languages tend towards the following properties.

i) A surface marking for topics, but not necessarily for subjects.

ii) Only marginal use, if any, of 'dummy' subjects. These are typically found in subject-prominent languages.

iii) Characteristic 'double-subject' constructions ('that tree (topic), the leaves are big').

iv) Control of coreferential constituent deletion shown by topic rather than subject.

v) Only marginal use, if any, of the passive construction.

vi) A tendency to be verb final.

vii) No constraints on what may appear as the topic.

viii) Topic-comment structures as the basic sentence type.

Where, then, does Middle Dutch fit along this typological continuum proposed by Li and Thompson? Although Jansen (1980) does conclude that Middle Dutch word order was controlled pragmatically, rather than syntactically, he states

> "Dutch is, and has always been, a subject-prominent language" (p.147)

While I would not for one moment suggest that Dutch was at any time of its *recorded* history a Tp language of the type that Chinese, for example, is, I hope to show below that there are certain features of Middle Dutch in which the topic-comment distinction is basic. Certain 'odd' constructions become a lot less problematic if we accept the fact it is the topic rather than the subject which determines their structure. In this respect, Middle Dutch is at least a candidate for Li and Thompson's transitional stage (D), in which both subject-predicate and topic-comment constructions play an equal part. The following, then, is an outline of those characteristics of Middle Dutch which point to the prominence of the notion topic in the language at this time.

6.2 Characteristics of topic-prominence in Middle Dutch

6.21 Surface-coding of the topic

One important characteristic, then, of topic-prominent languages is the surface marking of the topic. In this respect, it is not immediately

clear that Middle Dutch is anything but a typical subject-prominent language. There is nothing which corresponds to a systematic marking of the topic in the language of this time. It is the subject which takes precedence over the topic in this regard. In most structures the subject of the sentence is clearly signalled both by verb agreement and nominative case marking.

Nonetheless, Middle Dutch does possess certain structures which, with respect to surface marking, are more characteristic of a topic-prominent language. For example, in section 6.22 below there are a number of different construction types in which the nominative marks not only the subject, but also non-subject topics. Section 6.4 examines impersonal expressions which lack any sort of grammatical subject as well as number agreement on the verb.

In this present section, I return briefly to the three different types of topic markers distinguished earlier in Chapter 4.
Whilst clearly they are nothing like consistent topic markers (for example the system of topic particles in many Tibeto-Burmese languages (cf. Matisoff 1973) or the topic *-wa* case in Japanese), they nonetheless represent a means available in Middle Dutch to 'earmark' topical items.

Briefly, then, the three different topic-marking devices are as follows -

A. The first type involves the placement of a demonstrative pronoun after the initial topical element. This is usually congruent with the topic, although it is not uncommon to find *dat* following singular nouns of all genders. As discussed in Chapter 4, this is by far the most usual of the three devices; at least this is suggested by the texts here. For convenience I will repeat some of the examples given earlier. As these markers are thematically motivated, each example is given in context.

1. Oly van polleyen. *Oleum pulegium dien* maecmen aldus
'Oil of fleabane (title). Oil of fleabane (that) one makes thus' Ho. 1300

2. Medicine is ghedeylt in tween: die een heyt conservativa sanitatis, daermen ghesonde mede behoudt ... *Conservativa die*

salmen billic voersetten om haer weerdicheyt
'Medicine is divided into two: the one is called 'conservation of health', with which one maintains health ... Conservation (that) one should rightly prefer because of its worthiness'
Ho. 1300

3. *Henneneyer*, die ny gheleyt sijn, ghezoden of ghebraden morwe, *die* sijn goet. *Oude eyer ende herde*, *die* sijn tescuwen
'Hens' eggs which are newly laid, boiled or softly fried, (those) are good. Old eggs and hardboiled (those) are to be avoided' Ho. 1300

4. Van den wonden int vleysch die menigherhande syn hoemen se sal vergaderen ... Ypocras seit dat *rauwe wonden die* siin quaet ende die riipe siin goet
'On wounds in the flesh, which are of many kinds - how one should sew them (title) ... Hypocrates says that raw wounds (those ones) are bad and the ripe are good' Br. 1350

As topic markers, these demonstratives have two basic functions -

i) They give the topic greater prominence. This is especially useful for focusing the subject (since sentence-initial position is neutral for subjects, it can never be a position of emphasis for them).

ii) They also have a very clear cohesive function in the discourse. Most of the fronted constituents they follow are 'heavy', or complex (i.e. those which have additional modification by a relative clause or reduced relative) such as example (3) above or (5) below.

5. *Clijn ende oec zuer wijn ende veredict wijn* die nochtan zuet is, *die* is goet...
'Light and also sour wine and vinegered wine which is nonetheless sweet (that) is good...' Ho. 1300

The use of the copy item re-establishes the topic and reinforces the syntactic relationship between the fronted constituent and the verb. In this respect the demonstrative pronouns act very much like a correlative adverb. This correlative function is also evident when they follow initial indefinite relatives, as in (6) below.[(2)]

6. Galienus segt: *die sijn ghesonde behouden wil, die* moet hem van eerdschen zorghen ontrecken
'Galienus says: he who wants to keep his health (that one) must withdraw himself from earthly worries' Ho. 1300

B. The second device involves the use of coreferential personal pronouns which may or may not follow directly after the initial topical element. In Chapter 4, I argued that constructions involving these are best understood as instances of left-dislocation. For one, their infrequent occurrence in the present texts with respect to the other two devices suggests that they are very much more marked (as are left-dislocation structures with respect to topicalization). Although they usually directly follow an initial subject, when an object is fronted, the coreferential pronoun is placed in the more usual object position; i.e. postverbally (cf. example (8) below). It is also not uncommon to find material (such as adverbials or subordinate clauses) intervening between the initial item and the coreferential pronoun (example 9). In addition, the fronted items are often moved to a position outside a subordinate clause with the pronoun remaining inside the clause (examples 10 and 11). These sorts of constructions never involve the other two topic markers. One final feature of these markers which suggests that they signify left-disclocation is that they tend more often to refer to new or important information (cf. Jansen 1980:140), or serve to recall a topic mentioned earlier in the discourse. All these are functions more typical of the more marked construction involving left-dislocation.

7. Iecht. Dit is waer dat gheen cruut so helpelic en is ieghen die iecht dan castorie ende gheen so goet als die salie, want *salie ende castori si* sien goet ieghen die iecht
'Gout (title). This is true that no herb is as helpful against gout than castor and none as good as sage, for sage and castor (they) are good against gout' Ho. 1350

8. Ende *some* bekindic*se* daer van binnen, die ic nemmermeer van buiten en sach
'And some (visions) I knew (them) there from within, which I never saw from outside' Br. 1300

9. Van bloemen te planten ... *B(l)oemen* die bloeyen in den april overmits den vorst so en vervaren *si* die bloemen niet
'On planting flowers (title) ... Flowers which bloom in April, on account of the frost, then (they) do not experience flowers' Br. 1550

10. Dat seghen die arsateren, dat tsop vanden alante ende tsop vander rute te samen ghemenghet harde goet is ghedronken den ghenen die ghescoert is ... *Dat selve sop* wart*et* ghedronken *het* maket wece den lichaem
'(This) the doctors say that the juice of alantin and of rue, mixed together and drunk, is very good for (the) one who is ruptured ... The same juice, if it is drunk, (it) makes the body soft' Ho. 1350

11. *Die eyer* so *si* ouder sien so *si* dilder sien; *der hennen ende pertrisen eyer die* sien goet ende ganser dan enich ander voghels eyer
'Egg (new topic), the older they are, the more worthless they are; hen and partridge eggs (those) are good and more healthy than any other birds' eggs' Ho. 1350

The above example (11) clearly illustrates the difference in function (as well as the difference in placement) between demonstrative and personal pronoun topic markers. Whilst *si* follows *die eyer* as a new topic of discourse, once it is the established topic, the demonstrative *die* is more appropriate. In general, however, both the personal pronoun and the demonstrative markers share the same two functions outlined above; namely, to provide emphasis and as a linking device. With respect to this correlative or linking function, personal pronouns are also to be found following initial indefinite or generalized relatives, as in example (12).

12. Ionc to scinen. *Die ionc wil scinen, hi* neme water van gout-bloemen ende dwa siin aensicht daer mede
'To appear young. He who wants to appear young, (he) should take marigold water and wash his face with it' Ho. 1350

C. This third and final topic marker I am not entirely happy including with A and B above, in that it not only has a different function from these two, but also a very different distribution. Basically,

it involves the deictic adverb *so* which is placed after initial adverbs, adverbial phrases and adverbial clauses (examples 13, 14, 15 respectively; example 9 above also shows *so* following an averbial phrase). In all of the texts examined here there was not one instance of *so* following a noun phrase (although Jansen 1980:140-1 describes it with examples in this position).

13. Galienus seghet dat goede natuur huer selven vuedt mitten slape. Ende die slaep sal bi nacht sijn ende niet bi daghe ... *Voert soe* en sal niet die wachter der ghesonden slapen als die lichaem vol is, tot dat die spise is neder ghegaen neder vander croppe der maghen
'Galienus says that good nature feeds itself with sleep. And the sleep should be by night and not by day ... Moreover (then) the observer of good health should not sleep when the body is full, until the food has gone down from the crop of the stomach' Ho. 1300

14. Van den wonden int vleysch die menigherhande syn hoemen se sal vergaderen ... ende *van allen soe* siin alder quaets te ghenesen die ronde wonden
'On the wounds in the flesh which are of many kinds - how one should sew them (title) ... and of all (the wounds) (then) the worst to cure are the round wounds' Br. 1350

15. Van hoofdwonden ... Ende den hamer daer ghi mede clopt sal siin van loede omdat niet seer luijden en sal. Ende *als ghi dat weret soe* seldi den sieken siin oren stoppen met catoene
'On wounds of the head (title) ... And the hammer with which you strike should be of lead because (it) should not sound very much. And when you use that, (then) you should pack the patient's ears with cotton wool' Br. 1350

The correlative or 'resumptive' function of *so* is very clear from the above three examples. In function it is very much like the conjunct *then* in English (although in translation *then* is not always appropriate and is not used with the same frequency as *so*). Both express, though, a logical relationship and have the effect of linking what follows with

what has preceded in the discourse. *So* tends to behave like an echo of what has preceded it and "thus acts as a sort of anchor for the sentence in which it appears" (Haiman 1974:40 on 'resumptive topicalization'). For this reason it is found most commonly after initial subordinate clauses (cf. discussion of *so* in this function in Chapter 4, section 4.14).

As discussed earlier, the use of these topic markers is very common indeed in the texts under consideration here; that is, until the mid-16th century. After this time, their use diminishes considerably. The decrease in the use of these items does serve to emphasize the declining role of the notion 'topic' in the sentence structure of Dutch. As the language readjusts its syntax to accommodate greater subject-prominence, there is less call for such devices. But I will return to the question of the decline of these structures below, when the overall decrease of topic-comment structures in Dutch is considered.

6.22 Other topic-comment constructions in Middle Dutch

In addition to the above three topic markers, Middle Dutch possesses some interesting constructions where it is clearly the topic and not the subject around which the basic sentence structure is organized. All of these closely resemble Li and Thompson's topic-comment structures typical of topic-prominent languages.

The first of these includes constructions which traditionally would be termed 'anacoluthic' (although in its wider sense, 'anacoluthon' applies generally to any structure lacking grammatical sequence). Such constructions begin with a noun phrase in the nominative case, which is then followed by a sentence containing a different subject. This sentence does contain, however, an anaphoric pronoun, or some equivalent, coreferential with the first (almost unattached) noun phrase, but in the case form demanded by the verb (i.e. not the nominative case). It is in this regard that these structures differ from the usual left-dislocation structures as discussed above and earlier in Chapter 4. The left-dislocated elements here, however, show a greater syntactic independence of the following sentence in that they do not have the case form assigned them by the sentence verb (and therefore the case form of their coreferential 'proform'). In this respect, then, these constructions are closer to Li

Thompson's topic-comment structures than those of standard left-dislocation. And they show an exceptional use of the nominative case; namely, to mark, not subjects, but non-subject topics. In fact, these constructions are not unlike Chafe's notion of 'premature subjects' (1976:51-52). Certainly, Jesperson's description of the phenomenon in early English bears a close resemblance to Chafe's description of cases of 'premature subject'.

> "... a speaker begins a sentence with some word which takes a prominent place in his thought, but has not yet made up his mind with regard to its syntactical connexion; if it is a word inflected in the cases he provisionally puts it in the nominative, but is then often obliged by an after-correction to insert a pronoun indicating the case the word should have been in"
> (Jespersen 1894:201; cf. also Butler 1977b:627)

Jespersen's description clearly points out the topicality of the initial constituents in these 'anacoluthic' constructions.
The following, then, are some cases in point. In examples (16), (17) and (18), the coreferential 'proform' is the deictic adverb *daer* (in (17) and (18) in combination with prepositions *mede in* and *uit* respectively; i.e. they represent the prepositional phrases to which the initial topics belong). In (16) the initial element is in fact the indirect object of the main verb. In example (19), the initial topic is the causal object of the verb (indicated by its coreferential demonstrative pronoun in the genitive case).

16. Galienus plach in aldus ghedane wonde te orberen terbentiin ... maer dat was in kinderen of in wiven die waren van verscher complexcien. Maer *die ghene* die waren van drogher harder natueren ende complexien *daer* mencde hi een luttel euforbium metten terbentiin
'Galienus used to use in such kinds of wounds turpentine... But that was in children or in women who were of fresh 'temperaments'. But those who were of hard and dry 'natures' and 'temperaments' (for them) he mixed a little euphorbia with the turpentine' Br. 1350

17. Spargum dyt wast gheern ynt corne, distillirtse. Dyt water is goet gedronken ... Ende *syn luttel syropen dymen maect*, spargus ys *dar mede yn*

'Asparagus (that) grows well in corn; distil it. This water is good (when) drunk ... and its small (amount) of syrup, which one makes, asparagus is in there with it' Ho. 1500

18. *Ysopo ende polley, groffliate ende sicorie, euen veel te samen ghedaen in ene clocke ouer tfier daer wt* selmen water sublimeren
'Hyssop and fleabane, cloves and chicory, equal amounts put into a bell-jar over the fire, out of that one should distil water' Ho. 1350

19. Saet van ayuyne, ist dat ghijt net in watere daer sout in gheweest heeft, soe yst beter omplanten. *Ayuyn ghesaeyt ontrent boomen*, het si appelboomen oft peerboomen, die vruchten zyns veel te beter en te soetere
'Seed of onion, if (it is that) you wet it in water in which salt has been, then it is better to plant. Onion, strewn around trees, be they apple trees or pear trees, the fruit(s) are very much better and sweeter because of it (the onion)' Br. 1500

In example (16) above, the nominative *die ghene* could also be caused through 'relative attraction'; i.e. by the nominative case of the corresponding relative pronoun (cf. Jespersen 1894:186-188). This sort of 'relative attraction' is very common in the present texts, especially in cases of relative ellipsis (example 21 below).

20. *Die gheen* die rudich is men sal nemen een doec ende ... wriven *hem* daer mede
'He who is scabid, one should take a cloth ... and rub him with it' Ho. 1350

21. *Die* an die milte of an die leuer siec is, het helpt *hem*
'He who is ill in the spleen or in the liver, it helps him' Ho. 1350

Stoett (1909:261) gives several examples of these in a footnote to his section on 'anacoluthon' (in this section he discusses uncompleted main clauses which have been interrupted by one or more subordinate clauses). These examples he attributes to *contaminatie*, by which I assume he means the same as 'relative attraction'. The following is taken from Stoett.

22. *Hi*, die alle herten kint, *hem* en es verborghen twint
'He who knows all hearts, to him is nothing hidden'

As the ready translation for (22) above shows, this phenomenon is not unknown in Modern English. I will return to these sorts of indefinite relative constructions below.

Even closer to Li and Thompson's topic-comment are the following sentences. These parallel exactly the so-called 'double-subjects' structures, typical of topic-prominent languages like Chinese. The difference between these and the 'anacoluthic' and left-dislocation structures outlined above, is that in the following the topics have no grammatical relation with the verb; i.e. they are syntactically independent. Surprisingly, these constructions were not uncommon in the texts here.

23. Die are plaghen te vlieghene sonder cessinghe dore die diepheit ... Maer *die are die verslonden worden die een* was Sinte Augustijn *die ander* ic
'The eagles were engaged in flying incessantly through the deepness ... But the eagles, which had been devoured (topic) - the one was Saint Augustus, the other me' Br. 1300

In (23), the first 'subject' functions something like a "recall-topic" (cf. Givón 1976a) since it is returning to a topic (*die are*) which was mentioned much earlier in the discourse.

24. Daer in stonden boeme, dar ic toe wart gheleidt...Dar stont een boem ... Die boem hadde vele telghere. *Die nederste telghere die de tsop hadden die yerst* was gheloeve
'There in stood trees, to which I was led...There stood a tree ... The tree had many branches. The lowest branches which formed the crown (topic) - the first was faith' Br. 1300

25. Anijs is heet and droege ... hi is goet der boser leueren ende der milte. Ende *die vrouwe* oket *hi* dat melc
'Aniseed is hot and dry ... it is good for unhealthy livers and the spleen. And women (topic) - it increases the milk' Ho. 1450

26. Om wyngaert te doen draghen wijn ghelijc clareyte ... *Alle druyven die men snijnt eer si wel rijp zijn dien wijn* en sal niet natuerlijc zyn

'In order to make (a) vineyard bear wine like claret (title) ... All grapes which one cuts before they are ripe enough (topic) - the wine shall not be natural' Br. 1500

27. Ieghen der padden. *Die een padde* slapende in den mont crope, die sal nemen esken rinde ende stotense wel ... so stervet hi binnen hem of si gaet hem dore of ten monde wt
'Against toads (title). He who (topic) - a toad creeps into the mouth (while) sleeping, (that one) should take ash bark and crush it well ... then it (the toad) dies inside him or it goes through or out of the mouth' Ho. 1350

28. Ten doden kinde. Als *een vrouwe een kint* in haren lichaem doet is, so salse drinken caneel met warmen water
'For dead children (title). When a woman (topic) - a child is dead in her body then she should drink cinnamon with warm water' Ho. 1350

29. Van den wonden int vleysch ... Avicenna seit dat *die wonden van den pesen geen dinck* quader en is noch meer deeret dan coude dinghen
'On wounds in the flesh (title) ... Avicenna says that wounds of the tendons (topic) - nothing is worse, nor is more harmful than cold things' Br. 1350

30. *Die die nose* bloet tsop vander rude stoppet hem dat bloet
'He (topic) - the nose bleeds, the sap from rue stops his blood'

In examples (23, 24, 26, 28, 30) there exists between the two initial noun phrases a relationship of possession. A modern Dutch rendering of (24), for example, taken from a recent translation of Hadewych's visions, shows this clearly. Here the initial noun phrase appears in a genitive phrase headed by the preposition *van* ('of').

31. *Van de onderste takken* die de kruin vormden was de eerste het geloof
'Of the lowest branches which formed the crown, the first was faith' (translated by P. Mommaers 1979)

Examples (25) and (27) express also a possessive relationship, but between the initial noun phrase and some constituent of the following clause (other than the subject) - *die vrouwe-dat melc* 'the woman's milk' and *die-in den mont* 'into whose mouth'. These are in fact very reminiscent of the constructions of the so-called dative of possession, which are also very common in the texts here which have to do with body parts and illnesses (*dat suuert hem die hersen* 'that cleans his brains'). The difference is that in the above the initial noun phrase, or possessor, stands in the nominative case and not the 'expected' dative case. It is tempting to simply ascribe these examples to a confusion of cases (or in some instances, to the kind of 'relative attraction' discussed above), typical of a crumbling case system. However, it is not usual, especially in these very early texts, to find the nominative case where you would expect the dative case. And besides, these sentences bear such a close resemblance to the Chinese style 'double subjects', that to plead simply an error of cases seems to me to be choosing to ignore a very interesting feature of the organization of Dutch sentence structure at this time. These 'double-subjects' represent another interesting use of the nominative as a marker of non-subject topics, and are a very effective way of taking up the discourse topic and following it with some new information concerning it. The initial placement of *die nederste telghere* in (24), for instance, links the sentence with what has previously been mentioned (about the tree and its branches). The subject and predicate introduce new information about the topic. It may well be that topic-comment structures of this sort are limited in Middle Dutch to initial topics which are possessors of the surface subject (although example (29) suggests this may not be that simple). Li and Thompson, in fact, (1976:470-471) discuss Indonesian which shows similar constraints on topic constituents in such structures . Nonetheless, the fact that Middle Dutch does possess such constructs, does imply a certain prominence of the topic in the sentence structure of the language at this time.

> "All Tp languages have sentences of this type, while *no pure Sp languages do*, as far as we know"
> (Li and Thompson 1976: 468 - my italics)

In addition to the 'anacoluthic' and 'double-subject' constructions, Middle Dutch possesses another similar construction, which also shows a clear topic-comment form; namely, the so-called absolute construction.

This construction is especially popular in the medical texts of instruction.

32. Dese oly is geheten sperma rute ... *Dit sperma rute nochteren ghedronken gheen wiin* en mach hem deren
'This oil is called rue seed ... This rue seed drunk in moderation - no wine can harm him' Ho. 1350

When compared to (33), which follows it in the text, the above example (32) bears a close resemblance to a 'double-subject' construction.

33. *Sperma rute nochteren ghedronken* verdriift alle rudichede
'Rue seed drunk in moderation drives away all illnesses of the skin'

The following four examples, I also give as illustrations of topic-comment structures in Middle Dutch. They do not, however, seem to fall into any of the above categories.

34. Te veel slapen. *Litargia dat harde vreselic euel,* so wien *dat euel* an comt, hi slaepet altoes soe vaste datten niemen wecken can
'Toomuch sleep (title). Lethargy, that very terrible illness - to whom the illness (i.e. lethargy) comes, he sleeps so fast, that noone can wake him' Ho. 1350

35. *Puluer ghebrant vanden mol met celidonien ende met sulphur ghestampt ende water daer of ghemaect,* dat water selmen heten Aqua dealbatium
'Ash, burnt from mole, finely crushed with celandine and with sulphur, and water made from that, the water one should call 'Aqua dealbatium'' Ho. 1350

36. *Een plaester van eyerdoder ende rose-oly ghemaect ende daer toe ghedaen een luttel saffraens ende een half uncye merken,* dat plaester zachtet boven allen dinghen
'A plaster made of egg yolks and rose oil, and added to that a little saffron and an ounce of celery, the plaster soothes above all things' Ho. 1300

37. *Eppen zaet, asiin, betoghen ende weder in die sonne ghedroecht, dat ghepuluert ende oly daer of ghemaect,* dese oly selmen heten balsania
'Celery seed, vinegar, soaked (?) and dried again in the sun, that finely crushed and oil made from that, this oil one should call balsania' Ho. 1350 (3)

Before leaving topic-comment structures, there remains one further construction to be discussed; namely, the construction involving what have been termed concessive clauses. These have already been discussed earlier (Chapter 4, section 4.14) in a different context, that of the word order shown in the main clause following. In this respect, constructions containing concessive clauses were described as conservative on account of the fact that the following main clauses were SVX. They were also introduced into the discussion on 'relative attraction' given above.

In organization, these constructions do display a definite topic-comment likeness, as the following examples illustrate. Of particular relevance here are the concessive relative clauses beginning 'whoever', as these are particularly frequent in the early medical texts dealing with cures.

38. Die gheen die rudich is men sal nemen een doec ende ... wriven hem daer mede
'Whoever is scabid, one should take a cloth ... and rub him with it' Ho. 1350

Such structures like the above are still heard commonly in Modern Dutch (and Modern English as the translation shows - although in this case the strangeness of the subject matter does make it read rather oddly!). In structure, they can be analysed in the same way as left-dislocation. 'One should take a cloth and rub whoever is scabid' ⟶ '*Whoever is scabid*, one should take a cloth and rub *him*'. As mentioned earlier, the nominative case of *die gheen* seems to be a case of 'relative attraction'. Together with examples like the above, constructions like the following two are also found in the data here. Both types are very similar although these are even more reminiscent of topic-comment structures in that the concessive clause is syntactically totally independent of the following main clause.

39. Tieghen veniinde gheelsuchte ende den rede. Aqua philosophorum is goet ieghen alle veniinde wonden ... Diet oec nuchteren drinct ix morghen stonde, het verdrieut die ghelesucht
'Against poisonous jaundice and fever (title). Aqua philosophorum is good for all poisonous wounds ... Whoever (also) drinks it in moderation for 9 mornings, it drives away jaundice' Ho. 1350

In the following examples the concessive relative follows the main clause (this order is less common).

40. Ten quade hersen. Het gheneest scorfde hoefden diese daer made saluet
'For bad brains (title). It cures scabid heads, whoever salves with it' Ho. 1350

The fact that these constructions contain a sort of left-dislocation or 'hanging topic' (Cinque 1977), helps to explain the fact that main clauses following have SVX order. Such concessive clauses can be considered as being outside the sentence structure, like all left-dislocated elements, and for that reason do not condition subject-verb inversion. This is supported by evidence from Modern German which consistently shows subject-verb inversion after initial dependent clauses, except for initial concessive clauses.

6.3 Gapping between unlike constituents

Yet another indication of the prominent role played by the topic in Middle Dutch is to be found in the initially puzzling phenomenon of gapping between constituents of different syntactic status.

Let me begin by giving a number of examples from the data here. The constituent in italics (grammatical function given in brackets) represents the item gapped in the conjoined clause (indicated by a dash).

41. Ende hi seit dat hien onderstont ende sneet dat stuc al af ende metten roden pulver ghenas hi *den man* (object).
Ende ——— leefde daarna menic iaer

'And he says that he relieved him and cut the piece all off and with the red powder he cured the man. And (he) lived many years thereafter' Br. 1350

42. Hi haelde *mi* (object) ende ——— ginc met hem in die taveerne
'He fetched me and (I) went with him into the tavern' Br. 1350

43. *Olye van fyolen* (object) maecmen als rose-oly ende ——— heeft alle die macht die rose-oly heeft
'Oil of violets one makes like rose-oil and (it) has all the strength which rose-oil has' Ho. 1300

44. *Olye van eylove* (object) maecmen vanden bladen alsmen lelyenoly maect ende ——— is cout ende heeft alle die selve cracht die lely-oly heeft
'Oil of ivy one makes from leaves like one makes lily-oil and (it) is cold and has all the same strength which lily-oil has' Ho. 1300

45. *Dat water* (object) selmen heten aqua philosophorum ende ——— heeft in hem menighe verholen virtute
'The water one should call 'aqua philosophorum' and (it) has in it many secret virtues' Ho. 1350

46. *In de middelste camer* (prepositional phrase) leghet die natuere die heeft die redene te verstane ende ——— es heet ende versch ende heeft veel gheesten ende veel van hersenen
'In the middle chamber lies the 'nature' which has the reasoning to understand and (it = the middle chamber) is hot and fresh and has many spirits and many brains' Br. 1350

47. Daer na eens paeschs daghes wasic *te gode* (prepositional phrase) ghegaen ende ——— omvinc mi van binnen mine sinne ende nam mi inden gheeste
'Afterwards one Easter day I had gone to God and (He) embraced me from within my sense(s) and took me into the spirit' Br. 1300

48. In die wijtheit saghic feeste *alse enen david harpende* (prepositional phrase) ende ——— sloech enen slach op die harpe
'In the diffuseness I saw festivities like David playing on a harp and (he) strummed a stroke on the harp' Br. 1300

49. Ende dan salmen*se* siden yn water tot dat het water doer oer lieff gelopen is ende ——— beginnen tweken
'And then one should boil them (the roots of ginger) in water until the water has gone through their body and (they) begin to soften' Ho. 1500

In Modern Dutch such structures as these are no longer possible. This is because in Dutch now, like in English, the gapped or missing element can be interpreted as anaphoric to the preceding full noun phrase only if it has the same grammatical function; i.e. a gapped subject, like in examples (41) - (45), can not refer back to an earlier object. Although such structures read oddly to modern ears, they are clearly not incomprehensible, and I maintain it is for the reason that it is the topic here, rather than the subject, which is controlling the deletion of the conjoined noun phrase. Certainly, in examples (42) - (46) the items coreferential to the gapped noun phrase appear in initial position; i.e. topic-position. The fact that it is the topic which is controlling the coreference is made even more obvious in the following examples. Here I include more text to provide the context and make the topic more apparent. The topic is in italics in each case.

50. *Mancopsaet* is cout ende droghe. Men vijndet wit ende swart. Dat wit zaet is cout ende vocht, dat zwart is cout ende droghe ende meer dudende. Men macht X jaer houden ende ——— doet slaepen, ende stopt ende reynicht die humour
'Poppy seed is cold and dry. One finds it white and black. The white seed is cold and wet, the black is cold and dry and more helpful. One may keep (it) 10 years and (it) causes sleep, and arrests and purifies the humours' Ho. 1300

51. *Dat meel* salmen menghen met water of met loghe daer men dat haer mede dwaet: siin aensicht wart hem claer, ende ——— beneemt oec die sproeten

'The flour one should mix with water or with lye (alkalized water), with which one washes hair: his face will become clear and (it) removes also the blemishes'

Ho. 1350

52. *Haer als golt draet.* Myt olie van rosen soe siedet een cruyt datmen heetet cyprus, ende do dat to alcana ende bestricken mede *het haer* ende ——— sal soe werden

'Hair like gold thread (title). With oil of roses boil a herb, which one calls galingale, and add that to alcana and spread the hair with it and (it = the hair) should become thus' Ho. 1500

In an example like (51) the topic coreferential to the gapped subject is not present in the higher clause, but is given earlier in the discourse. In (50), it is likely that the object pronoun which is coreferential to the gapped subject in the conjoined clause is here deleted under phonetic conditioning; i.e. *men macht het/ dat* becomes *men machtet* becomes *men macht* (cf. Chapter 7, discussion on clitics).

These sentences, although potentially ambiguous (like (46) and (50)) are totally comprehensible precisely because it is the topic (which would of course have a prominent place in the mind of the reader) to which the gapped constituent refers. In a topic-prominent language, as Li and Thompson (p.469) point out, this is the usual state of affairs; it is the topic not the subject, which controls coreferential deletion. The following example comes from Mandarin and bears a close resemblance to the Dutch examples above.

53. Nèi kuài tián dàozi zhǎngde hěn dà, suǒyi ——— hěn zhìqián
that piece land rice grow very big so very valuable

'That piece of land (topic), rice grows very big, so *it* (the land) is very valuable'

As in the Mandarin example, in the Dutch examples (41) - (52) the deleted constituent refers to the topic of the discourse, and not the subject. It seems, then, that the topic could in Middle Dutch take precedence over the subject in matters of coreference.

Similar examples to these above are (54) and (55) involving a 'dummy' subject *het*. Here it is the lexical subject (at the same time topic),

not the grammatical subject *het* which is the source for the deleted constituent.

54. Het quam te mi die aer vanden viere dieren die suete
Sente Johannes ewangeliste ende ——— seide...
'There came to me the eagle of the four animals, sweet
Saint John, the evangelist and (he) said...' Br. 1300

55. Ende het quam minne ende ——— omvinc mi
'And there came love and (she) embraced me' Br. 1300

Such presentative structures using empty subjects like *het* are, as we have on previous occasions discussed (Chapter 4, section 4.12), devices to introduce the topic onto the scene for the first time, the topics being in these two sentences *die aer* and *minne* respectively. Clearly, these two topics are the references for the deleted subject anaphors.

The two following sentence examples appear to illustrate a similar phenomenon.

56. So wanneer een mensche in arbeyt is, soe is *hem* sijn
herte moere ende ——— wille gherne drinken
'So whenever a person is at work, then (to him) his
heart is weak and (he) would like to drink' Ho. 1450

57. *Wie* sijn mage te cout is ende sijn spise verlaten ende
——— gheeft hem weder sinen dranc, dien is sijn lijf slanc
'Whose stomach (lit. who his stomach) is too cold, and
his meal expelled, and (who/he) gives back his drink,
(to him) his body is powerless' Ho. 1450

In both examples it is the possessor of the subject (in (56), for example, it is a dative pronoun of possession *hem*), not the subject of the main clause which is coreferential to the missing subject anaphor in the conjoined clause.

These examples above are not unlike those instances where a clause involving a personal verb is conjoined to a subjectless impersonal construction, as the following illustrates.(4)

58. Doe verwondere den luden (dative) ende ——— bespotten hem
'Then the people would be amazed and (they) would mock him'
(from: Verdam's *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*)

Lightfoot (1979:235) states that in conjoined structures, a gapped element can be interpreted as anaphoric to a full noun phrase only if it has the same grammatical function (i.e. a gapped subject cannot refer back to an object). He uses this as evidence that, as in the following example from Malory, "the pre-verbal pronouns with the impersonal verbs were analysed as subjects despite being morphologically marked as objects".

59. The kynge (dative) lyked and ——— loued this lady wel

Even ignoring the fact that in example (58) the object (*den luden*) of the impersonal verb *verwondere* is post-verbal (as, according to Van der Horst 1983a,50% of impersonal objects are in Middle Dutch), we have seen that it is simply not true that gapped elements cannot refer back to noun phrases of a different grammatical function. Examples like (58) therefore, can in no way be used as evidence that dative impersonal objects like *den luden* are interpreted as grammatical subjects. But I will return below to the question of impersonal constructions when the question of 'dummy' subjects is examined. I offer these examples here as further evidence that it was not always the grammatical subject which controlled matters of coreference.

While I do not, of course, dispute the precedence of the subject predicate frame in Middle Dutch sentences, I do think that certain puzzling features about early Dutch syntax (like the 'double-subjects' and unlike gapping) become less problematic, if we do assume a certain amount of topic-comment prominence in the organization of sentences (and here I do not refer simply to those devices like fronting, clefting and passivization, for example, which all subject-prominent languages, like English, make use of to emphasize the discourse topic). Both the topic and subject have an essential role to play in the grammatical processes characteristic of Middle Dutch.

6.4 The Middle Dutch impersonal construction

One property which you would expect of subject-prominent languages, is the obligatory expression of surface subjects, and certainly, subjects were expected in most Middle Dutch sentences (there are a few examples of subject ellipsis, but they are no more frequent than those which

occur in Modern Dutch or even Modern English, which are marked and typical of vivid prose and certain prose styles like 'journalese'). There is, of course, one group of constructions which stand out from the rest on account of the fact that by definition they lack an overt grammatical subject. And these are the so-called impersonal constructions[5]. It is appropriate that we look briefly at these constructions in Middle Dutch and some of the recent accounts of them.

Butler (1977 a and b) observes that the impersonal constructions of Old English are of four types, and these four types are relevant also for the description of Middle Dutch impersonals.

1. The verb need have only one argument (usually pronominal) which inflects for the dative/accusative case. This is perhaps best termed the Experiencer since it usually involves a person affected by a psychological predicate of some sort (cf. McCawley 1976). In Fillmorian terms, it would be the Dative or Objective case.

60. *Den godleken* (dative) twivelt ende *den anderen* (dative) wondert
'The godly ones doubt and the others wonder' Br. 1300

2. The verb may also take a 'causative object' which will stand in the genitive case or in a prepositional phrase (beginning with *van*).

61. Ende *hare* (dative) nie en ghebrac *riker ghichten* (genitive)
'And she never lacked rich gifts' Br. 1300

62. Maer doe wonderde *mi* (dative/accusative) *van al diere rijcheit* (genitive)
'But then I was amazed at all of the richness' Br. 1300

3. The verb may also take an argument which is realized as a *dat*-clause.

63. Want *hem* (dative/accusative) dunct *datter en gheen ghewin aen en leghet*
'For he thinks that there lies no gain in it' Ho. 1300

4. The verb may take an argument which is realized as an infinitive clause.

64. ...ende *hem* (dative/accusative) nummermeer hoeft *so sere sweren*, hi en waer ghenesen
'...and he no longer needs to suffer so much, but he would be cured' Ho. 1350

65. Die den hoest heeft hi is roet int aensicht ende dorst *hem* (dative/accusative) dicke ende lusten (verb form?) *hem* (dative/accusative) bet te wesen an der coude dan an der hetten
'He who has the cough, he is red in the face and is thirsty often and wants rather to be in the cold than in the heat' Ho. 1350
(I cannot explain the plural form of *lusten*)

As Butler (p.632) points out, the arguments in impersonal verb constructions lack both the properties of a subject; namely, nominative case marking and verb agreement (the verb stands in the third person singular, regardless of the number or person of its arguments - the characteristic which earns it the title 'impersonal verb'). Butler then goes on to argue for the topicality of "the object noun phrases" in Middle English impersonal constructions (by object noun phrase, Butler appears to refer only to the accusative/dative argument of impersonal verbs, i.e. the 'Experiencer') and his arguments hold equally well for Middle Dutch(6). Arguing that subjects are "grammaticalized" topics (cf. Li and Thompson 1976:484), he claims that the topicality of the objects in these impersonal constructions explains their later transition to personal constructions. A problem for Butler's analysis are those few verbs in Modern German and Dutch, for example, where the old genitive object has become the grammatical subject - for example, German *fehlen* 'to be lacking'. Butler's ideas are directly supported by Lehmann's hypothesis (1976:450).

> "If there were a syntactic change, leading to the requirement that a grammatical subject be expressed in a matrix sentence, the item often expressed as topic would be the subject. A topic-prominent language would in this way develop into a subject-prominent language...I propose that such a development took place in Indo-European".

Appropriately, Modern Dutch like Modern English has lost the impersonal construction. This is, then, more evidence for the greater topic-prominence of the earlier form of the language. All the earlier so-called impersonal verbs now require an overt subject. This condition is met either by the dative/accusative impersonal object or Experiencer which now appears in the nominative case form and controls verb agreement (less frequently the genitive or causative impersonal object; cf. Van der Horst 1983a), or more usually by the 'dummy' subject *het* which appears in subject position (developments which have also taken place in English). Early Middle Dutch made only marginal use of *het* in impersonal constructions (with the exception of impersonal weather verbs which seemed always to require a 'dummy' subject), although usage was clearly on the increase. Three other environments where the modern language requires a 'dummy' subject *het* (or *er*), which was not however always required in Middle Dutch are the following:

1. The replacement of extraposed sentential subjects
2. The replacement of logical subjects moved out of subject position (i.e. existential constructions)
3. Impersonal passive constructions

As Li and Thompson (p.467-468) state, topic-prominent languages typically do not have, or make only marginal use of, such 'dummy' subjects. This is further support for the claim of greater topic-prominence in Middle Dutch. But we will have cause to return to the question of 'dummy' subjects when we consider these in the light of other developments which have taken place here on account of certain overall word order changes in Dutch.

The question of Middle Dutch impersonals, and the general development of impersonals within Germanic, has recently received an excellent treatment by Van der Horst (1983a) and before we leave impersonals, it is worth briefly considering his position.

One of the most recent and detailed accounts of the so-called transition from the impersonal to the personal construction has been offered by Lightfoot (1977, 1979) although, as Van der Horst points out his position does not really differ significantly from that of Jespersen (1894, 1927). Lightfoot assumes that the levelling of nominal inflections (giving rise to identical subject and object forms) together with the levelling of

verbal inflections, meant that sentences like 'the king liked pears' could be analysed as either SVO or OVS. The establishment of SVO canonical word order in English forced a reanalysis, and such structures were accordingly interpreted as SVO (but are we justified in assuming this SVO canoncial word order for Dutch?). Van der Horst shows that, for at least four very simple reasons, Lightfoot's analysis does not work for the Dutch data. And he offers in its place a much simpler account of the development.

Firstly, Van der Horst points out that the common assumption underlying all the earlier accounts of Germanic impersonals (and this includes Lightfoot's) is that the impersonal construction is the older[7]. The idea of a development from impersonal constructions to personal, however, is untenable, he maintains, since even in the earliest records of the Germanic languages both can be seen to have existed side by side. Van der Horst's analysis makes no necessary assumptions about the relative age of either construction type.

As already intimated, Lightfoot's position requires that the dative/accusative impersonal object be always in pre-verbal position (i.e. to allow the reanalysis to SVO ordering to take place)[8]. Van der Horst notes that in Middle Dutch the dative/accusative object stood before the impersonal verb only 50% of the cases. This would not be sufficient to permit such a reanalysis (although as mentioned above, it is not clear to me that it is anyway plausible to speak of SVO canonical word order for Dutch at any stage in its development so far).

Van der Horst points out that the dative/accusative object appeared for the most part in the pronominal form (cf. Butler 1977 b:630 who uses this fact as one of his arguments for the topicality of impersonal objects). Since the pronoun forms preserved the case endings, this makes the grounds for reanalysis even less likely.

Van der Horst, then, makes no appeal to reanalysis or any obligatory subject constraint (the appearance of an obligatory subject he views as a consequence rather than a cause of the loss of the impersonal construction). He argues convincingly that the erosion of the inflectional case endings is sufficient to account for the loss of the impersonals

(even the pronominal endings are insufficient to support a system of impersonals). And in rejecting the chronology of events necessary for the argument of a transition from impersonal to personal structure, Van der Horst views the impersonal form as always having been a potential feature of all verbs. Rather than assuming the original existence of a group of syntactically aberrent verbs, the so-called impersonal verbs, Van der Horst stresses the semantics of these verbs, and sees the impersonal form as arising as a natural consequence of the lexical meaning of these verbs. Like McCawley (1976), Van der Horst notes what all these verbs have in common; namely, a dative/accusative object which generally expresses a person "unvolitionally/unself-controllably" involved in the action of the verb and an optional object of origin, or causative object. Each of these impersonal verbs can potentially appear in three variant forms: (1) pure impersonal construction with oblique objects and the verb inflecting for third person singular; (2) dative/accusative object promoted to subject (i.e. showing nominative case); (3) causative object promoted to subject. Constructions (2) and (3) he claims are marked or emphatic variants of (1). To give any one argument precedence you simply promote it to subject(9).

Essentially, then, what Van der Horst is advocating, if I understand it correctly, is something very like the Fillmorian approach involving deep cases. While the deep semantic roles remain the same in all forms (1) - (3), what changes is only the surface realization of them. An adequate case system means that these underlying semantic roles can be expressed with greater distinction on the surface. The different surface realizations offer simply different perspectives, pragmatically controlled (something like the active/passive distinction, or even the difference between the lexical pairs like - 'I like films/Films please me'). Come the loss of reliable case endings, this is no longer possible, and the impersonal form simply drops out.

> "Vervalt dit naamvallensysteem, dan vervalt de onpersoonlijke construktie" (Van der Horst 1983a:36)

The fact that there was this group of verbs which (on account of their intrinsic meaning) appeared in expressions without the requirement of a grammatical subject and subject-verb agreement but rather with a topical non-subject (the Experiencer) points to the important role played by the

topic in the organization of sentences in the language at this time. The loss of the impersonal construction in Dutch (as in the other Germanic languages) is a step closer to greater subject-prominence in the language. Once more this represents the decreasing power of the pragmatic principles of Middle Dutch syntax. Differences which could be expressed by the impersonal/personal distinction are now no longer available.

6.41 Subjects in the accusative case in Middle Dutch

Of direct relevance here is the appearance of the accusative case in subject function. This is commonly assumed to be the consequence of a crumbling case system, and evidence that speakers of Dutch at this time were losing grip of case functions and endings. Van der Horst (1981b) in his short treatment of Middle Dutch syntax, does note that on several occasions subjects appear with accusative endings, and argues that they are especially prevalent post-verbally (i.e. TVX structures) and in subordinate clauses. These facts lead him to the conclusion that the explanation for this phenomenon can be found in Sapir's notion of syntactic drift; namely, the increasing importance of position in the sentence and the diminishing feeling for case as an indication of syntactic function.

> "Een enkele keer heeft het onderwerp van een zin de accusatief-vorm" (p.21)
> ('Occasionally the subject of a sentence has the accusative form')

and later

> "Het komt mij voor dat het gebruik van een accusativus voor het subject voornamelijk optreedt in zinnen met inversie en in bijzinnen met het Vf achteraan.
> ...Ik stel mij voor dat de verklaring van dit verschijnsel gezocht moet worden in de richting die Sapir...wees: het toenemend belang van de plaats in de zin voor de vorm, en een vermindering van het gevoel voor naamvalsvormen als indikatie van funktie" (p.65-66)
>
> (' It seems to me that the use of an accusative for the subject appears mainly in sentences with inversion and in dependent clauses with the verb finally.
> ...I suggest that the explanation for this phenomenon must be sought in the trend which Sapir...points out: the increasing importance of the position in the sentence for the form, and a decrease in the feeling for case endings as indication of function')

However, a close inspection of these accusative-subjects in the present data reveals, firstly, that their appearance is more frequent in early Middle Dutch than Van der Horst suggests. Secondly, while data here does not support such a correlation between their appearance and either subject-verb inversion or subordinate clause order, as Van der Horst proposes, there is nonetheless, a very definite system in their appearance - certainly more system than if they were simply the consequence of eroding cases. In fact, as I see it, their appearance in early Middle Dutch supplies further support for Van der Horst's analysis of impersonal constructions outlined in brief above. Firstly, let me list some examples from the data here. These are all taken from texts before 1600, since the situation, as I will show later, changes in the 17th century. It should also be pointed out, that throughout Middle Dutch, even in its earliest recorded form, the nominative and accusative case endings were only distinguished in the singular masculine forms, *de/den* respectively. In the feminine and neuter singular forms, and in all plural forms there was no distinction.

66. Want *den arbeit* sal mi wesen groot ende swaer
'For the work will be great and difficult for me' Br. 1350

67. Ende *den hammer* daer ghi mede clopt op den doerslach sal siin van loede
'And the hammer, with which you hit on the chisel, should be of lead' Br. 1350

68. *Dien wijn* soude so sterc worden....
'The wine should become so strong...' Br. 1500

69. ...ende *sinen goeden smaec* sal weder comen
'...and its good taste should come back' Br. 1500

70. *Den balsem boom* wort geplant gelijk den wijngaert in die aerde
'The balsem tree is planted like the vine(yard) in the ground' Br. 1500

71. Al waert dat *den wijngaert* half verdorret waer...
'Even if it were that the vineyard had half withered' Br. 1500

72. Wildy dat hem *eenen harinc* van selfs keeren op eenen rooster...

'If you want a herring to turn (reflex) by itself on a grill...' Br. 1500

73. *Dien pulver* ghenommen in spisen, is goet teghen dat buuceuel
'The powder taken in food is good for stomachillness' Ho. 1300

74. So wanneer *den meester* hem besiet inden glase...
'So whenever the master looks (reflex) into the glass' Ho. 1450

75. ...als *den lichaem* te heet is
'...if the body is too hot' Ho. 1300

76. *Den selven wijn* is goet denghenen die bloet spuwet
'The same wine is good for those who spit blood' Ho. 1450

77. Hierbi verstaet men dat *den wijn* beste is int midden des vats
'Hereby one understands that the wine is best in the middle of the vat' Br. 1500

78. Als *desen wijn* geperst is...
'When this wine is pressed...' Br. 1500

79. Als *den pot* beginnt te sieden so...
When the pot begins to boil, then...' Br. 1500

80. *Dien doec* sal bernen sonder te bederven
'The cloth should burn without spoiling' Br. 1500

The examples above bear a close resemblance to those constructions containing the so-called impersonal verbs. In fact, if we accept Van der Horst's analysis, that there is no such clearly defined group of verbs which we can call impersonal (because of the fact they take oblique arguments, and no grammatical subject), then these sentences above are clearly indistinguishable from recognized impersonal expressions. Like impersonal expressions, they too lack any sign of an overt grammatical subject, carrying the nominative case ending (and since all would-be subjects are masculine singular noun phrases the verb is automatically in the 3rd person singular). And just as Van der Horst explains the occurrence of impersonal constructions, so too can the appearance of these accusative subjects be seen to arise as a consequence of the semantics of the sentence verb; that is, the use of an oblique case,

rather than the nominative to express the subject, captures the fact in each of the above examples the would-be subject is not itself actively or purposely involved in the state of affairs described by the verb. As McCawley (1976:194) writes:

> "there is a great tendency among many languages of the world to not assign the nominative/ergative case to the human who is 'unvolitionally/unself-controllably' involved in the situation"

The use of an accusative subject in Middle Dutch represents, then, a productive device, like the impersonal construction, for indicating a subject which is not itself wilfully involved in the situation being described. The difference between the (a) and (b) pairs in example (81) below, is that (b) expresses more clearly the deep semantic role of the would-be subject. Demoting the subject to an oblique case implies less involvement of the noun phrase (i.e. it is neither actor or agent).

81. a) De boom sal op comen ende wassen
'The tree should come up and grow

b) Den boom sal op comen ende wassen Br. 1500

a) De appel sal terstont van den boom vallen
'The apple should fall immediately from the tree'

b) Den appel sal terstont van den boom vallen Br. 1500

In the same way as I would disagree with Van der Horst's opinion that the impersonal construction represents the less marked of all three variants constructions (cf. footnote 9), so too would I here argue that the (b) forms are the most marked, and for four reasons:

1. With respect to formal marking, (b) forms are morphologically more marked because the 'subject' carries additional oblique inflection.
2. With respect to distributional marking, (b) forms are the least frequent variant and accordingly the most marked.
3. With respect to semantic marking, (b) forms like impersonal constructions are more specific in meaning and for that reason they are more marked.
4. This fourth point also entails (1) - (3) above - the overall

peculiarity of a subject with oblique inflection makes (b) forms automatically more emphatic for speakers.

Note that in the above sentence examples (66) - (80), most involve passive or reflexive constructions, both of which, as McCawley (1976: 197) writes signal "that the human is unvolitionally involved in the state of affairs" (although of course, this need not be confined to humans). Others include subjects of stative predicates or intransitive verbs like *vallen, bernen, wassen.* Certainly, in all constructions there is no question of any one argument constituting the agent or actor of the verb.

Instances of accusative subjects are not to be considered simply as performance errors, the result of a declining case system. Quite to the contrary, these forms appear to have two very distinct functions in Middle Dutch. Firstly, they capture more finely the semantic role of the subject with respect to its verb. Secondly, as a part of the discourse-strategies available in Middle Dutch, these forms are able to express pragmatic considerations of topicality and focus, for example. As Kazemier (1946:23) also notes there is certainly something emphatic about the use of the accusative subject in the following sentence.

82. daer en es niemant rechtvaerdigh.
Ia niet *eenen,* noch verstandigh, maer onwaerdigh.
'There is no one righteous.
Indeed not one, nor wise, only unworthy'

And there is certainly something emphatic also about *den wijn* in the following (note the coreferential pronoun is *not* accusative).

83. Ende *den wijn* die van desen wijngaert comen sal *die* sal smake al waert goeden clareyt
'And the wine which will come from this vineyard (that) should taste as if it were good claret' Br. 1500

With the eventual decline, however, of the case system, other grammatical processes (like passivization, reflexivization and clefting, for example) have to take over these functions - a further indication of the transition in Dutch from pragmatic to grammatical syntax.

One further point here; namely, if examples like (82) and (83) do arise

purely out of the chaos of a crumbling case system, then you would expect the nominative case, with equal frequency, to appear in places where you should find the dative or the accusative. And this is simply not the case in these early texts. My claim here is backed by Kollewijn (1932) who notes:

> "Minder vaak zien wij in het ouder Middelnederlands de nominatiefvorm de plaats van datief of akkusatief innemen"
> ('Less often we see in older Middle Dutch the nominative form taking the place of the dative or accusative') (10)

Before leaving this question, I would just mention the following puzzling examples which involve persons and their body parts. In every case the part of the body is the subject and stands in the accusative (or dative?), while the possessor stands in the nominative case.

84. Die *den buuc* gheheuen is...
'He who (nominative) the stomach (accusative/dative) is swollen...' Ho. 1350

We find examples like (84) next to examples like the following:

85. So *wien* die buuc hart is, hi sal nemen...
'Whosoever (accusative/dative) the stomach (nominative) is hard, he should take...' Ho. 1350

86. Dat selmen gheuen denghenen die *den maghe* is vercout
'That one should give to those who (nominative) the stomach (accusative/dative) is sick (through cold)' Ho. 1350

Note that *die maghe* is described as both masculine and feminine in the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboeck* (MNW).

87. Denghenen die *den hersen* verwout is, die sal men baden in ene stede die donker is ende cout
'Those (dative) who (nominative) the brain (accusative/dative) is frenzied, one should bathe them in a place which is dark and cold' Ho. 1350

Note that *die hersen* is described as feminine in the MNW, indicating the degree of confusion which exists between genders. In examples like (86) and (87), the verb agrees, not with the nominative inflecting pronoun (i.e. the possessor) but the noun phrase in the oblique case. Since persons and their body parts usually appear in constructions involving

the dative of possession (example 85?), are these examples (84), (86) and (87) simply confusing the item which should correctly carry the dative marking? They do, nonetheless, bear such a strong resemblance to the impersonal expressions, and those involving the accusative subjects (also impersonals?), that I am unwilling to label them simply errors of case assignment.(11) The dative of possession in these cases anyway has much in common with the impersonal expressions - it also indicates the unvolitional involvement of the human being in the situation depicted by the verb.

6.42 The seventeenth century

From the late 16th century onwards the appearance of the accusative subjects becomes more frequent, and less systematic than earlier. For one thing you now frequently find accusative subjects of *transitive* verbs in sentences containing an object, and *den* even being used in the plural!

88. *Den almogenden God* geeft sommige rijcke ende machtige heeren ende coopluijden ende andere treffelijcke personen de sin om te dijcken
'The almighty God gives some rich and powerful gentlemen and merchants and other admirable people the knowledge to dike' Br. 1600

Ketterij (1980:119) also remarks upon the increase of these forms during this time.

> "Het onderwerp in de accusatief is in het middelnederlands veel zeldzamer dan in de latere taalfasen van het nederlands, met name in het zeventiende-eeuws"
> ('The subject in the accusative is in Middle Dutch much rarer than in the later linguistic stages of Dutch especially in the seventeenth century')

It is during this time also that we especially begin to notice dialect differences emerging. The increase of these accusative subjects is particularly great in the south, in the dialects Flemish and Brabantish. In fact, in Flemish their appearance became so usual, that the accusative form grammaticalized as the masculine marker for all cases (as opposed to standard Dutch where the nominative form was levelled out for all cases). There was also a strong indication that this

process was well underway in Brabantish. The extract given below from the mid-seventeenth Brabantish text, a treatise on spelling by G. Bolognino, shows this clearly. It also indicates the confusion which arose during this time between the forms *de* and *den*, a confusion which *now* can be described as a breakdown of the system.

> "Den en de: want zommige schryven: de man, de Rechter, in stede van den man, den Rechter, en in't meervoudt, den mannen in stede van, de mannen: dăr nochtans den past op den men, en't gene dat van mannelyc geslacht is, ende de op de vrou, en't gene dat van vrouvvelyc geslacht is...ende de past in't meervoudt op alle beyde...Men set ooc aldus allen man, alle vrouw, alle mans, alle vrouvven, den grooten man, groote mannen..." (12)
> (p. 34)

The trend, however, appears to be reversing and *den* is now disappearing. For one, it is more prevalent in the speech of older people, and in the speech of others there is fluctuation and definite lexical differences (some nouns retain *den*, others show *de*). This is the sort of variation you would expect of a construction which is on the way out. But certainly, a more thorough study is needed of this. It is puzzling that one dialect should have chosen to grammaticalize the *den* form, while all others chose the nominative *de* form. In Flemish, we could speak of something like Vennemann's (1974) pragmatic unmarking; that is, where, what was once the marked and more emphatic form, becomes, through frequent use, the more usual and unmarked form. But while this is certainly a well-attested change in language, it still does not account for why the *den* form in the north, and Brabantish should resist this change and disappear so successfully in both dialects. While you could argue that *den* was never as prevalent in the north (and normative grammars of the 17th century would almost certainly have driven the last few nails into its coffin), this is obviously not the case for Brabantish. The disappearance from this dialect remains a mystery (although most certainly influence from the standard language would have had a part to play).

6.43 Summary

The frequent formal identity of impersonal expressions and those expressions given above involving accusative subjects suggests that they are in fact the same phenomenon. How would the following sentence be described? - *Den lichaem is te heet* ('the body is too hot'). Since both

impersonal and accusative subject expressions represent devices to signal the involutary involvement of the subject in the discourse, it seems to make little sense, in this respect, to distinguish the two. And both expressions have the essential feature which makes them impersonal; namely, no overt grammatical subject.

Of course, the additional characteristic of impersonal expressions is the lack of subject agreement on the verb. Effectively, however, there is so much levelling of verbal inflections in Dutch, that this distinction is anyway not always apparent. And it is not usually helpful in distinguishing so-called accusative subjects, since, for nominals, the appearance of accusative subjects is only evident in third person (masculine) nouns, the nominative and accusative plural forms being identical.

With respect now to first and second persons, the occasional occurrence of, what has been described as, impersonal objects with number agreement on the verb such as 'me think' (cf. Lightfoot 1977, 1979, who uses these as evidence of the reanalysis of impersonal object to subject), brings the two constructions, impersonals and accusative subjects, even closer together in form. The complication here, however, is the ambiguity in the verb forms between subjunctive and indicative. Examples like *maer mij dunke dat...* ('but I think that...') could involve either third person subjunctive, or first person indicative.

From all this, we can perhaps conclude that at one stage in early Dutch, there was a productive system for signalling the involuntary involvement of the 'subject' by placing it in an oblique case. This system gave rise to impersonal expressions which sometimes showed number agreement on the verb, or as a perhaps more marked variant showed no agreement, and inflected for third personal singular, regardless of nominal arguments. McCawley (1976:201) sums this up well when she writes:

> "The lack of Nominative accompanied by the lack of number agreement and the presence of Dative in the surface structure was a very effective way to encode the common denominator of widely different types of S's, namely, that the human is unvolitionally involved in the state of affairs"

This changes in the 17th century. The breakdown of the case system means

the resulting loss of this expedient system. Just as McCawley (p.212) argues with respect to the loss of the Old English impersonals, this gives rise to what must be considered a semantically less transparent system.

6.5 The passive construction

Another feature which Li and Thompson describe of topic-prominent languages is that they typically lack, or make only marginal use of, the passive construction. In passivization (as in reflexivization) it is the subject which plays the essential role. Grammatical processes like these are, therefore, more typical of subject-prominent languages. In Middle Dutch in fact, both the passive and the reflexive systems are not yet fully developed. While it is undoubtedly true, for example, that a number of Middle Dutch reflexive verbs are now no longer reflexive, there exist a great many more intransitive verbs which have since become reflexive (cf. Stoett 1909:174-177 for a list of such verbs). In addition to this it is significant that Middle Dutch does not possess a formally distinct item with the function of reflexive pronoun (cf. Appendix 1).

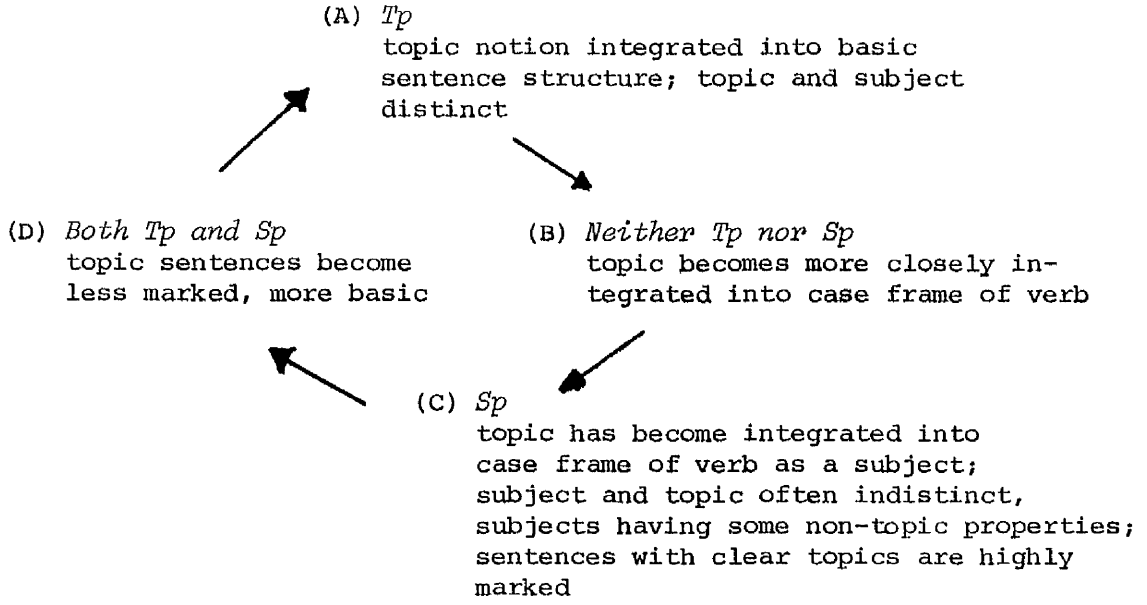
6.6. Topic-prominence and verb-final languages

Topic-prominent languages tend to be verb-final (Li and Thompson's explanation for this fact need not be repeated here; cf. p.484-485). Li and Thompson's typology has accordingly been adopted by Lehmann (1976) with respect to the question of Proto-Indo-European syntax. Assuming the verb-final character of PIE, Lehmann gives evidence that PIE was in fact a topic-prominent language. The development from topic-prominence to subject-prominence in its daughter languages, Lehmann relates to the change from OV to VO syntax.

> "We might note the parallelism between the development from topic-prominence to subject-prominence and that from an OV structure to a VO structure in the Indo-European languages" (p.456)

If Lehmann's account is correct, we would justifiably predict that as Dutch moves further away from the OV syntax of Proto-Germanic, it should

show diminishing prominence of topic-comment structure in favour of subject-predicate. The diachronic aspect of Li and Thompson's typology is summarized in their diagram (p.485) given below.



It has been argued here that Middle Dutch, together with its subject-predicate structures, does possess many features characteristic of a topic-prominent language; namely, topic markers, genuine topic-comment structures like the 'anacoluthic' and 'double-subject' constructions (especially the latter where the topic is syntactically independent of the verb) and the unusual cases of gapping where the topic, rather than the subject, controls the deletion of the coreferential pronoun. Few of these structures remain available to speakers of Modern Dutch.

In terms of Li and Thompson's diachronic schema described above, these facts imply that Middle Dutch is at a transition stage where both topic and subject play a role in the basic sentence structure. Both transition stages (B) and (D) only receive meagre description, however, in Li and Thompson's account, and it is not entirely clear to me the exact way in which the two differ, if, in fact, they differ at all. But if it is true that they represent two distinct stages, then evidence here from Middle Dutch (supported also by Lehmann's evidence for Proto-Indo-European) suggests a development from topic- to subject-prominence via stage (D) rather than (B) as the diagram indicates (i.e. via a stage of *both* topic- and subject-prominence). Obviously, though, the diachronic

application of Li and Thompson's schema needs more thorough investigation with historical data from many more languages.

Modern Dutch does have certain devices for indicating the topic, but they are very limited by the constraints imposed by word order. Topicalization (or the simple fronting of topical elements) is one possibility. In this respect, Dutch, because of its TVX order, is more flexible than English for example with its rigid SVX/XSVX order. Similarly, processes like passivization (whereby topical elements can be promoted to subject and given sentence-initial position) have been extended in the language. Other constructions involving the clear representation of topics have become rare and highly marked (such as left-dislocation).

I will argue below that the loss of topic-prominence in Dutch is a consequence of the rise of constraints imposed on Dutch word order. The movement from pragmatic to grammaticalized word order has meant the necessary introduction of restrictions on the expression of discourse-strategies in the language.
In the following, I will show that one constraint on Dutch word order in particular was responsible for the diminishing power of pragmatic principles in Dutch, and the subsequent movement to more consistent subject-prominence. I refer here to the establishment of strict verb-second order in main clauses. Lehmann, as mentioned above, has suggested that the movement from topic-prominence to subject-prominence and the development from OV to VO structure are related (although his arguments for this are not entirely clear). In fact, he implies, if I understand him correctly, that the latter is the *motivation* for the shift from topic- to subject-prominence. I will show below how the fixing of a strict verb-second order (according to Vennemann the transitional stage between OV and VO) is responsible for the demise of certain topic-comment structures in Dutch (and other Germanic languages). In this respect, it is verb-second order rather than the overall change to VO type which is the motivating force behind the movement towards greater subject-prominence. The presence of compulsory 'dummy' subjects, for instance, is just one feature of Dutch as a now more homogenous subject-prominent language which represents an innovation in the language to ensure its consistent verb-second structure. I propose to begin the discussion on verb-second

order in Dutch, and its consequences, by looking at the question of these 'dummy' subjects.

6.7 Topic-prominence and the verb-second constraint

6.71 Verb-second order and the question of 'dummy' subjects

We have discussed earlier the ideas contained within Haiman (1974) in connection with both the transformational approach to change and those attempts which have been made to attribute syntactic change to some sort of notion of 'drift'. In the present discussion about the transition from topic- to subject-prominence in Dutch, the ideas of Haiman can be seen to be directly relevant. It is appropriate, then, that we examine more closely his position in this regard.

In 1971 D. Perlmutter in *Deep and Surface Structure Constraints in Syntax* suggested that languages could be divided into two types -

Type A languages - those with obligatory surface subjects and verbs which inflect for tense

Type B languages - those without obligatory surface subjects

A change from Type B to Type A, he recognised, was a possible historical change (such as has occurred from Latin to French). Haiman developed Perlmutter's original ideas, and observing that of the extant Type A languages (of which Germanic languages form the greater part) all have or have had at some stage in their development a verb-second constraint, he proposed that this verb-second constraint was the motivation behind the change from Type B to Type A.

Type A languages must possess five properties, which are summarized below. Haiman views these properties in terms of a kind of 'conspiracy' to bring about a 'target' surface word order; namely, verb-second. Accordingly, all five properties can be seen as innovations introduced into these languages to ensure the correct verb-second structure. The reason behind the initial shift to verb-second order need not concern us here. The development of verb-second in Germanic and the possible causes behind it are discussed in Chapter 8.

Type A

1. obligatory personal pronoun subjects
2. obligatory 'dummy' subjects for impersonal verbs (weather verbs and impersonal passives, for example)
3. special indefinite pronoun subjects (*men* in Dutch, *one* in English)
4. obligatory 'dummy' subjects to replace extraposed clauses (*het* in Dutch, *it* in English)
5. obligatory 'dummy' subjects (*er* in Dutch, *there* in English for example) to replace the logical subject when it is moved out of subject position

It remains to be seen how Haiman's schema works for Dutch and developments which have taken place there. We have discussed the question of the verb-second rule in Middle Dutch at length. Statistics based on the present texts given in Chapter 4, show Middle Dutch well on its way to grammaticalizing the strict verb-second order characteristic of the modern language. Consider, then, the above five properties with respect to the facts of Middle Dutch.

1. Obligatory surface subject pronouns

Even in the earliest recorded Middle Dutch documents, it appears that personal pronoun subjects were rarely omitted. There is, therefore, no available evidence from Dutch to support Haiman's claim that personal pronouns at one stage existed solely to satisfy the verb-second constraint. But since the texts start relatively late, this is also not counter-evidence.

2. Impersonal constructions

a. weather verbs (intransitive impersonals)

Van der Horst (1983a) reports that in the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboeck* there is only one recorded instance of an impersonal weather verb without the 'dummy' *het*. And certainly, there are no instances of subjectless weather verbs in the present data.

b. transitive impersonals

As far as other impersonal constructions go, the situation in Middle Dutch is a little more obliging towards Haiman's arguments. In the earliest texts examined here there are several examples of verb-initial

subjectless impersonals. The two examples below, and example (65) given earlier (although this example could be interpreted as reflexive with a gapped personal pronoun subject), are cases in point.

89. Ende docht *hen* datse allene minden
'And they thought that they alone loved' Br. 1300

90. Wondert *mi* vele meer vanden menschen die leven...
'I marvel much more at the people who live...' Br. 1300

Texts here written after the 14th century, however, no longer contain these verb-initial structures, which are now prevented by the appearance of *het*. (There is one example though of a verb-initial impersonal expression in the Brabantish text of 1600). As Haiman's analysis would predict, the 'dummy' subject *het* occurs only in those main clauses where it is required to keep the verb in second position; i.e. where the fronting of some other constituent has failed to apply. In the Hollandisch text of 1450, for example, we find sentences like (91) with *het*, but also examples (92) - (95) without it.

91. *Het* betert hem
'He improves'

92. So betert hem
'So he improves'

93. ...als hem goet is
'...when he is well'

94. Hem wort te bat
'He gets better'

95. Soe hi dat dicker doet, soe hem beter is
'The more often he does that, the better he is'

As expected, no *het* appears in subordinate clauses with verb-final order (example (93) and (95)), nor in those clauses with grammaticalized verb-initial order (conjunctionless conditionals and interrogatives).

96. Dunkt u dat...
'If you think that...' Br. 1600

It is clear, then, that in Middle Dutch *het* appears in these impersonals solely to satisfy the emerging verb-second constraint. The modern language shows the presence of *het* to be obligatory in all environments (except,

of course, in those constructions where the impersonal objects have become the grammatical subject). In this respect, Modern Dutch is a true Type A language, in that as in English, the presence of 'dummy' *het* is no longer determined by the position of the verb.

c. impersonal passives

During Middle Dutch the 'dummy' subject which can appear in impersonal passive constructions is also *het*. During the seventeenth century, however, a transition becomes obvious from *het* to *er* (which like English 'there' also has a locative origin in *daar*); e.g. *het is gecloppet* becomes now *er wordt geklopt*, 'there is knocking'. In the modern language only *er* is found. During the Middle Ages, however, *het* in impersonal passives, as in the transitive impersonals above, is sensitive to the position of the verb, and only appears where it is needed to maintain the verb-second order.

97. Ende van hem wart echt gheseghet te mi - hierna en
saltu meer nieman doemen
'And on his behalf (it) was said later on to me -
from now on you should no longer condemn any one' Br. 1300

The appearance of *er* in the modern language is a little more complex as will be shown below. It has relics of the older system, but also appears obligatorily in some constructions where the verb-second constraint has already been satisfied.

3. Indefinite pronoun subjects

Middle Dutch has always required the indefinite agent pronoun *men*. As with personal pronoun subjects, there is no evidence in the extant documents that the occurrence of *men* was ever only to satisfy the verb-second constraint.

4. Existential sentences and presentative sentences

For existential sentences, the same transition can be seen to have taken place from *het* in Middle Dutch to *er* in the modern language (cf. Weijnen 1971:57-58). In the Middle Dutch texts here, the appearance of *het* and its link with the verb-second constraint is clear. In the Brabantish text of 1300 examined here, for instance, you find examples like (98) and (99) with *het* initially, but examples like (100) - (102) predictably lacking *het*. All are presentative sentences with the verb *comen* 'to come'.

98. Het quam te me die aer
'There came to me the eagle'

99. Ende het quam minne
'And there came love'

100. Een inghel quam
'(There) came an angel'

101. ...wanneer soe een storm quame
'...whenever (there) came a storm'

102. Doe quam een ighel
'Then (there) came an angel'

Het does not seem to appear in subordinate clauses (verb-final or verb-initial conditionals), verb-initial interrogatives or main clauses which have already verb-second order. The following are examples of existential constructions which further illustrate this.

103. Het gheviel dat een goet riic man was...
'It happened that (there) was a good rich man...' Br. 1350

104. Es oec daer diepen gront, soe salmen starker op
den gront van der wonden binden
'If (there) is a deep base, then one should tie up
the base of the wound more strongly' Br. 1350

105. Een cruut is dat hiet in bukes dyptamnus
'(There) is a herb which is called in books
dyptamnus' Ho. 1350

In example (106), however, *het* is needed to preserve the preferred verb-second order.

106. Want het en is gheen euel so fel noch so quaet
'For there is no sickness so malign nor so bad' Ho. 1350

Haiman (114-116) notes that in modern Dutch the appearance of the *er* in both existential/presentative structures and impersonal passives is no longer constrained by the verb-position. It can appear now optionally in constructions where the verb-second constraint is already satisfied, although as Haiman points out, there exists a certain degree of speaker-idiosyncrasy as to the preference of construction. His examples tested on native speakers here, also revealed fluctuation in judgements on

their grammaticality. Haiman suggests the existence of a hierarchy of constructions with respect to the freedom with which they appear with *er*. We will return to this hierarchy below.

5. Extraposed sentential subjects

It is in the appearance of the 'dummy' subject *het* in places where the extraposition of clausal subjects has occurred that Haiman's schema is strongly supported (although unfortunately, he does not discuss these constructions in Dutch).(13)

In the very early texts here, there are examples of verb-initial clauses where there is no *het* in place of the extraposed clause (note that such examples are very common also in the Brabantish text of 1600 where verb-initial structures are anyway very frequent).

107. Ende is openbaer mit experimenten, dat onzuverheit
der lucht den sinne plompt
'And (it) is clear from experiments that impurity of
air dulls the intellect' Ho. 1300

Such sentences are more usually preceded by *het*, to preserve the more normal verb-second structure.

108. Ende *et* waer onmoghelike dat onse lichaem van desen
niet verwandelt en werde
'And it would be impossible that our body would not
be changed by this' Ho. 1300

Het fails to appear in verb-initial conjunctionless conditionals (although towards the end of the Middle Dutch period, especially in Hollandish, it begins to appear in this environment).

109. Ende is dat gheen lucht hebben en macht, dat leven
eyndt in corfen tiden
'And if (it) is that no air may prevail, life ends
in a short time' Ho. 1300

Het, predictably, fails to appear also in those main clauses where the verb-second constraint is already satisfied, example (110), and in subordinate clauses with verb-final order (111).

110. Waer uyt blijkt dat.....
'From which (it) seems that....' Br. 1550(14)

111. Thodericus ende veel ander meesters seggen dat
quaet es dat men pesen nayt
'Thodericus and many other masters say that (it) is
bad than one sews tendons Br. 1350

In modern Dutch main declarative clauses *het* does not replace extraposed sentences, as long as the verb is preceded by another element. And it is not unusual to find *het* missing in subordinate clauses.

112. Hieruit volgt echter niet dat....
'From this (it) does not however follow that....'

113. Indien zou blijken dat....
'If (it) should appear that....'

BUT

114. *Het* volgt echter niet dat....

Het does now also appear in subordinate clauses, as well as verb-initial conjunctionless conditionals and interrogatives, even though the verb-second rule obviously does not apply.

115. Volgt *het* echter niet dat... (conjunctionless conditional)
116. Hij zegt, dat *het* echter niet volgt dat... (subordinate clause)
117. Volgt *het*, dat hij morgen komt? (interrogative)

Once again, however, there exists considerable disagreement between speakers as to the grammaticality of these structures - whether or not they can appear without *het*, as there also exists for existential and impersonal expressions with respect to *er*. In the speech of some individuals, *het* is obligatory only in those structures where it is needed to maintain verb-second order. In all other environments it is optional. For other speakers, however, it is obligatory in certain structures even where the verb-second constraint has been satisfied, or does not apply.

Differences also exist with respect to lexical considerations. For example, speakers consulted here agreed with Haiman's claims that, while *er* was optional in the first impersonal passive interrogative construction (118), it was, for some inexplicable reason, obligatory in the example following it (119), otherwise identical in structure.

118. Wordt (er) hier gezongen?
'Is there singing here?'

119. Wordt *er* hier geklopt?
'Is there knocking here?'

Similarly, lexical differences occur with existential constructions. While *er* is happily optional in (120), it is, however, obligatory in (121).

120. Is (er) geen boter te krijgen?
'Is there no butter to be had?'

121. Waren *er* tranen in zijn ogen? 'Were there tears in his eyes?'
(cf. Haiman p. 115-116 and Donaldson 1981:Chapter 15 for examples)

It is true that in both examples (119) and (121) the idea of a specific location is more apparent than in either example (118) or (120), in which case *er* is more locative than it is existential. This could, then, account for the differences between these constructions with respect to the use of *er*.(15)

Similarly, a certain amount of confusion emerges with regard to conjunctionless conditionals and interrogatives and the use of *het* in place of extraposed clausal subjects. For example, while *het* was certainly obligatory in (122), it remained optional in (123), although was preferred by most speakers.

122. Is *het* waar, dat hij morgen komt?
'Is it true that he is coming tomorrow?'

123. Blijkt (het), dat hij morgen komt? 'Does it seem ... '

It seems that *het* is required in those expressions like (122) and (124) below where the verb 'to be' and a predicate adjective is involved (het is *waar/duidelijk/opmerkelijk* etc... 'it is true/obvious/clear').

In addition, there exists considerable discrepancy between the written and spoken language. *Het* is omitted more readily in the written language in subordinate clauses and main clauses where verb-second is already satisfied. Examples (112) and (113) given earlier were both taken from written texts. Judgements made by native speakers, however, varied with respect to (124) and (125), although *het* was most generally preferred, especially in example (124).

124. Toch is (het) opmerkelijk, dat hij morgen komt
'But it is clear that he is coming tomorrow'

125. Toch blijkt (het), dat hij morgen komt
'But it seems that he is coming tomorrow'

This sort of fluctuation, as inexplicable and chaotic as it first seems, is, nonetheless, in keeping with our understanding of the way in which change spreads through language. These sorts of lexical differences need more systematic investigation, however, than is offered here.

Dutch, then, can be seen to be moving towards a consistent Type A language; that is, where all the five properties outlined earlier are realized independently of any constraint imposed by the verb position. In English, for example, a consistent Type A language, 'dummy' pronouns such as those just discussed above are obligatory in all environments - it is now no longer obvious that their appearance was once controlled by the position of the verb. As Dutch moves towards this situation, we would expect to find the sort of variation between speakers that was noted above. Syntactic change, like lexical diffusion, is gradual - change spreads from one environment to the other. It does not affect all environments at once. The change to Type A can be seen to be diffusing gradually through three different environments. The first has to do with lexical considerations. Certain verbs demand a 'dummy' subject (irrespective of the verb-second constraint), while for others it remains optional. Secondly, there exists variation according to clause type. In interrogatives and conjunctionless conditionals 'dummy' subjects are required by necessity earlier than in declarative main clauses; that is, where they are not required by the verb-second constraint. This contradicts, however, the generally accepted procedure that main clauses innovate and other clause types lag behind them chronologically. But the use of *het* in present-day extraposed sentences certainly confirms this order of events. It is not yet clear to me where subordinate clauses fit into this hierarchy of clause types. While this obviously needs further study, I suggest that they are high on the hierarchy together with interrogatives and conjunctionless conditionals. Thirdly, and lastly, the change to Type A and the obligatory placement of these 'dummy' subjects can be seen to spread gradually from one construction type to another. Basically, the change spreads from constructions involving intransitive impersonal verbs through transitive impersonals and extraposed clauses to finally impersonal passives and existentials.

In summary, then, Haiman (p.146) proposes three stages in the development towards consistent Type A -

1. pronoun subjects are necessary in surface structure, but only to ensure the second-position of the verb is maintained; i.e. this stage is closest to Type B
2. simply the stage intermediate between 1 and 3
3. pronoun subjects are obligatory in all environments, no longer dependent on the verb position; i.e. this stage is closest to Type A.

As far as Dutch is concerned, Haiman maintains that it is at stage three for all environments, except passive impersonals and existentials where it is still at stage 2. I would also argue that Dutch is still at stage 2 for extraposed sentences (oddly Haiman does not discuss these). With respect to the meaning bearing pronouns, personal pronouns and indefinite agent pronouns, Dutch, even in its earliest recorded form, was at stage 3.

In conclusion, it can be seen that the rise of these 'dummy' subjects in Dutch has overcome a potential conflict between the discourse-stategies, and the new verb-second constraint in the language. For example, in existential and extraposed sentences, which involve the movement rightwards of, in the first place, the logical subject, and in the second, the sentential subject, such processes constitute a violation of verb-second order; that is, if no other element has been fronted in their place. The movement of logical subjects, however, to end position in existential/presentative expressions is in response to the universal discourse-stategy to place new information after that which is given, and such expressions represent devices in the language for introducing new arguments into the situation described by the discourse (cf. Givón 1976a:173-175 for a discussion of existential expressions). Similarly, the extraposition of sentential subjects is a movement to overcome possible perceptual difficulties which arise when a sentential subject stands in initial position (cf. Kuno 1974 who discusses the problems of centre-embedding). The use of 'dummy' subjects like *het* and *er* are devices which resolve the conflict - the verb-second order and the thematic structure are both satisfied.

6.72 Verb-second order and the disappearance of other topic-prominent structures

While the loss of impersonal expressions and the rise of obligatory 'dummy' subjects represent one way in which verb-second order has brought about greater subject-prominence in Dutch, it remains, finally, to show how it has been responsible for the disappearance of those topic-comment structures which all at one time existed in Middle Dutch.

Consider firstly those topicalization structures involving the demonstratives *die/dat*, personal pronouns and adverbial *so* anaphors - structures (A), (B) and (C) respectively. Jansen (1980) argues that of all three structures (all of which he refers to as left-dislocation) only (A) remains in the modern language. This he attributes to the establishment of strict verb-second order. He maintains that the continuation of all three structures as they existed in Middle Dutch would have meant a necessary violation of this verb-second order (i.e. the intervention of a coreferential 'proform' - be it a demonstrative, personal pronoun or *so* - between the fronted element and the rest of the sentence would result in more than one constituent preceding the verb).

As mentioned above, Jansen's argument is only valid if no intonation break existed between the fronted element and the rest of the sentence; i.e. they are considered continuous constituents. It is for this reason among others, that I argued against calling all three structures left-dislocation (cf. Chapter 4). In left-dislocation, the topicalized element is extracted, so to speak, out of the sentence structure and separated off by a large break in the intonation. Accordingly, it is not 'felt' to be a part of that sentence structure, to the extent that a resumptive pronoun copy is required in its place. Such structures exist in Modern Dutch without violation of verb-second order.

Jansen maintains that the survival of structure (A) involving the demonstrative anaphor, has entailed a change whereby the demonstrative and fronted constituent have been reanalysed as one constituent "in order to keep their position before the finite verb" (p.147). This reanalysis is evident by a pause which now appears between the demonstrative and finite verb indicating that the demonstrative and fronted element act as one unit. No such reanalysis, however, was possible with the deictic adverb *so* and the fronted element. Jansen argues that its adverbial character made it difficult for speakers to interpret it together with the fronted element as one constituent. Accordingly, this construction became obsolete because its continuation would have violated V/2 order.[16] Thirdly, Jansen argues that the structure containing the personal pronoun anaphor (here (B)) survives in the modern language only as a rare and highly marked construction, whereby a large intonation break exists between the fronted element and the rest of the sentence. The fronted

element has then "been 'thrown out' of the intonational unity of the sentence" and maintains only a loose syntactic link with the sentence structure. No violation of V/2 thus ensues. Jansen refers to this structure as 'a hanging topic', although it clearly corresponds exactly with what here has been termed simply left-dislocation. In fact, it is argued here, for reasons given earlier, that these constructions were always of the type that contained such an intonation break, in which case I would argue they have undergone no change. Not that this detracts in any way from Jansen's arguements. In fact, dealing with only written records, it is extremely difficult to tell one way or another what any of these three constructions were exactly, and what such an intonation break meant at that time.(17) It may well be the fact that (B) structures had both functions in Middle Dutch; i.e. as a marked 'hanging topic' construction, and, like (A) and (C), as a less marked construction with simple topicalization. On account of the V/2 constraint it could only survive as this first form, which in fact became even more marked.

But two things remain clear. For one, all three structures above represented devices at one time in Dutch for making the topic prominent. Secondly, as mentioned earlier, texts here show a marked decline in the use of these forms (especially (B), of which there are no examples in the 17th century). And it seems plausible, as Jansen argues, that the development of a constraint dictating that only one constituent may precede the finite verb, is responsible for the decline in the use of these topic markers. As Jansen points out, effectively only one device remains in Modern Dutch - "movement towards the first position" (p.147), anyway a universal principle of discourse to mark topic.

While it is obviously difficult to tell how productive the devices were in Middle Dutch which gave rise to the sort of topic-comment structures involving 'double-subjects' Chinese style or the 'anacoluthic'/absolute patterns, they are certainly no longer productive syntactic patterns. 'Double-subjects' are no longer possible. I might repeat, for convenience, a Middle Dutch example of such a construction, alongside its Modern Dutch translation.

126a. *Die nederste telghere die de tsop hadden* die yerst was gheloeve
'The lowest branches which had the crown (topic) - the first was faith'

b. *Van de onderste takken die de kruin vormden* was de eerste het geloof
'Of the lowest branches which formed the crown, the first was faith'

The obvious difference firstly is that (126b) shows inversion of subject and verb to preserve V/2 structure. In the Modern Dutch it is also necessary to use the periphrastic genitive construction with *van* to render the first 'subject' noun phrase (interestingly, Chafe 1976:51 also discusses the use of prepositions in English to render the Chinese 'double-subjects'). This has the effect of changing the construction from one in which the basic structure was topic-comment to one whose basic structure has now a clear subject-predicate frame.

As one might expect, 'anacoluthic' and absolute expressions have become, as in English, highly marked. They also require subject-verb inversion, or, as even more marked and less usual expressions, a large intonation break between the initial topical elements and the rest of the sentence.

All these facts point to the diminishing importance of the topic to the basic organization of sentences in Dutch. It would seem that the stabilization of verb-second order (and the overall shift to VO structure if we can believe Lehmann (1976) has been responsible for the move towards greater subject-prominent developments in their word order) and the general decrease in power of discourse-strategies available. It is perhaps only a matter of time before Dutch goes one step further in this development - to a stage where topical elements in order to appear clause-initially must first be promoted to subject. In the next Chapter, which deals with the question of negation, I will show how the verb-second constraint has motivated a change from preverbal to postverbal negation in, not only Dutch, but all the Germanic languages.

FOOTNOTES

1. While it is undoubtedly true that indefinite elements have a lower topicality than definite elements (cf. Givón 1976a,1977), it does seem possible for topics to be indefinite. Butler (1977b:627-628) gives examples of indefinite topics from Old English, and later I shall also give some from the Middle Dutch texts examined here. This implies that Li and Thompson's first criterion should be made less rigorous - topics are more likely to be definite.

2. There are a number of examples of left-dislocation in the present texts in subordinate clauses which also involve repetition of the subordinator. For example -

   Ende Galienus ende Avicenna seggen *dat* men *die wonde* die al doer gaet *dat* mens*e* heel datter gheen water aen en ghenake
   'And Galienus and Avicenna say that one - the wounds which go straight through - that one should heal them so that no water comes near there' Br. 1350

3. The meaning of *betoghen* is not clear. The editor of this text, W.L. Braekman, suggests the form may be a scribal error.

4. This example is taken from the *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek* (and is also given in Van der Horst's 1983 treatment of impersonals). A quick perusal of the many examples of impersonal expressions quoted in the MNW, indicated that such structures were not at all common. More often the impersonal pronoun was repeated as in the following:

   Ghi sliept ende *u* droemde
   'You (nominative) slept and you (dative) dreamed'

5. The term impersonal construction carries with it a certain amount of confusion as to what precise constructions are covered by it. As mentioned, the essential characteristic is that they lack a grammatical subject. Nonetheless, those constructions which appear with a 'dummy' subject (or 'sham' subject as Van der Graaf 1904 describes it), such as *het* in Dutch or *it* in English have also been termed impersonal, although clearly they possess a surface

grammatical subject. Lightfoot (1977, 1979) and Jespersen (1927) quote as an example of an impersonal expression the by now very well known phrase 'þam cynge licodon peran', but as Lightfoot himself states (1977:202), "*peran* is unambiguously the subject and the verb is therefore in the plural". As Van der Horst (1983a) points out, this can therefore be no example of an impersonal construction, since it has both subject and verb agreement. To avoid confusion here, therefore, only those constructions which lack an overt grammatical subject will be considered impersonal. Accordingly, those expressions containing a 'dummy' subject are not included here as impersonals.

6. I will not repeat here Butler's arguments for the topicality of these items. I should, though, make mention of those aspects where they contradict Li and Thompson's criteria for topicality. Firstly, he shows that these topics can be indefinite. Secondly, they are obviously grammatical arguments of the verb. We have already discussed the feature of definiteness with respect to topics (cf. Footnote 1), and concluded that, while definiteness is a usual characteristic of topics, it is not compulsory (sentences given earlier contain examples of indefinite topics). And with respect to selectional relations, Li and Thompson's criterion is not so uncompromising. They state (p.461) - "it (the topic) *need not have* (my italics) a selectional relation with any verb in a sentence". And certainly those topic-comment structures (such as left-dislocation and those 'anacoluthic' constructions) which we examined in Middle Dutch contain topics which are syntactic arguments of the verb. These two discrepancies do not detract from the topicality of these examples in Middle Dutch, nor Butler's examples in Old English.

7. Jespersen (1894, 1927), Wahlén (1925) and Van der Gaaf (1904) assume the impersonal construction to be the "original construction". Jespersen (1894:216) writes:

> "A great many verbs which in Old English were impersonal have become personal in Modern English"

8. As Van der Horst (1983a) points out, Lightfoot's analysis does not take into consideration the causative object, which could just as

easily serve as the grammatical subject (as it indeed did eventually in Dutch for such verbs like *ghebreken* and *ontbreken*). It is in this respect that Jespersen's treatment is superior, for he does attempt to explain the preverbal position of the dative/accusative impersonal object, and its subsequent reanalysis into subject.

> "The reason of this position was undoubtedly the greater interest felt for the person, which caused the word indicating him to take a prominent place in the sentence as well as in the consciousness of the speaker" (1894:217)

9. I would here disagree with Van der Horst who assumes the impersonal construction to be the least marked of all, with the two other personal constructions forming marked variants ("nadruk-varianten"). For three reasons I would argue that the personal, however, is the unmarked construction.
   1. Morphologically, it is the impersonal construction which is the most marked, since the arguments carry oblique inflection.
   2. The impersonal construction is the least frequent in the language, at least the present data suggest this. While it is dangerous to infer markedness purely on the grounds of statistical frequency, this fact, together with (1) and (3) point to the greater markedness of impersonals.
   3. Semantically the impersonal construction is more marked since it is more specific in meaning.

10. Kollewijn (1932), *De geschiedenis van de geslachten der zelfstandige naamwoorden in het Nederlands*, as quoted in Kazemier (1939:53).

11. There are also examples which appear to contain both the dative of possession and the accusative subject:

    Hem (dative?) *wart den lichaem* (accusative?) weec daer of
    'To him the body from that ' Ho. 1350

    The formal identity of many of the dative and accusative forms, makes it impossible, of course, to distinguish with any certainty the cases.

Mi (dative?) es *den buuc* (accusative?) so gheladen
'To me the stomach is so full'
(taken from Van der Horst 1981b:21)

12. Translation: '*Den* and *de*: for some write: *de man, de Rechter,* instead of *den man, den Rechter,* and in the plural *den mannen,* instead of *de mannen*: where, nonetheless, *den* befits *den man,* and that which is of the masculine gender, and *de* (befits) *de vrou* and that which is of the feminine gender...and *de* corresponds in the plural to both two...One says thus *allen man, alle vrouw, alle mans, alle vrouvven, den grooten man, groote mannen...*'

13. Extraposition involving it-insertion in the framework of transformational grammar is analysed as the movement of sentential subjects (or long phrasal subjects) to clause-final position and the insertion of 'it' or some equivalent in the original position. The term extraposition is perhaps misleading in that it implies that the clausal subject originated in initial position which historically is not the case. Nonetheless, it has become the accepted term now in the literature and is, accordingly, the term adopted here.

14. In examples (110) and (111), it is possible that *het* is in fact cliticized to the preceding subordinator *waer uyt* and *dat* respectively. If the host environment is similar phonetically, then the clitic often deletes (cf. discussion on clitics, Chapter 7).

15. I owe this observation to Dr. D. Bennett (personal communication).

16. The reinterpretation of *so* and its left-dislocated element would predictably only be possible if the left-dislocated element were adverbial also. In fact, this has occurred in Dutch, although only to a limited degree, in the grammaticalization of the deictic adverbs *daar* 'there' and *hier* 'here' with *so* into *daarzo* and *hierzo* (cf. Jansen p.145). As Jansen shows, both these are direct descendents of Middle Dutch left-dislocation constructions as in the following:

Al blies se God den mensche in, *daar so* was haer eerste begin
'All blew it (the spirit) God in men, there (in God) so was their first beginning'

I am less happy, however, with Jansen's argument as regards *so*. For one, in the present texts, *so* was only ever found following adverbials or adverbial (subordinate) clauses; i.e. never noun phrases. One could argue that *so* in these environments would also constitute a violation of V/2 order (as I have in fact done with respect to initial subordinate clauses cf. Chapter 4, section 4.14). However, a case of *so* following an adverb or adverbial phrase is less clear, since Modern Dutch (like Modern German) does allow more than one adverbial in initial position. Such structures are admittedly marked, which is perhaps evidence that they are on the decline as Dutch becomes even more strictly verb-second. Constraints on the distribution of adverbials does need more study, especially with respect to the V/2 constraint (cf. also Chapter 4, section 4.13).

17. This analysis of intonation and word order has problems when subordinate clauses are considered. An initial subordinate clause followed by a main clause would entail an intervening intonation break. And yet, as discussed in section 4.14 in Chapter 4, these also entail subject-verb inversion. It does seem that a break in intonation after a constituent does not necessarily indicate syntactic independence. Although this may seem trivial, much does depend on the degree of the intonation break. A pause can follow an initial topicalized element (and frequently does for emphasis) and yet it still is considered continuous with the rest of the sentence; i.e. as a part of the same overall intonation contour of the sentence. A left-dislocated structure is followed by a pause and marked change in intonation (usually the left-dislocated element is said on rising intonation). Ultimately, though, the decision rests with the speaker whether or not a fronted element remains part of the sentence structure. And dealing with only written sources this fact of course causes great problems. The degree of the intonation gap in left-dislocation is indicated by the need felt by the speaker to insert a pronoun copy in the sentence structure. Where the elements are continuous this need is not felt. In section 4.14 in fact, it was argued that there exist a number of subordinate clauses, the group of concessive clauses, which have no syntactic link with the structure of the following main clause. These are, in a sense, 'left hanging', like left-dislocated elements, in initital position, and, as might be expected, do not condition subject-verb inversion.

CHAPTER 7

THE DEVELOPMENT OF NEGATION

7.0 Introduction

The period of Middle Dutch syntax as we have seen can be viewed as the gradual grammaticalization or fixing of word order. This major change in the word order system of the language has entailed a number of other changes in the grammar. One such change involves the negative construction and it is this change which is of concern here.

In 1979 an article appeared by J.M. van der Horst and M.J. van der Wal in which they traced the development of the Dutch negative construction from earliest available written records. An interesting picture emerged from their results which shows a movement from preverbal to postverbal negation via a period of double or embracing negation.(1) This present study takes up once more the question of the development of Dutch negation. It differs however from the earlier study in a number of respects.

i) Whereas the earlier study of 1979 relies on text material which is largely poetry, non-literary prose texts form the source material used here.

ii) Not only the constructions dealing with general negation are examined. Also included are those constructions which contain the various pronominal and adverbial negative forms.

iii) The question of divergent dialect developments is taken up here and texts representing both a northern and a southern dialect are examined.

iv) The claim that the grammaticalization of word order can be used to account for changes which have taken place in the Dutch negative construction is one also put forward by Van der Horst and Van der Wal. This idea is further developed here and viewed in the wider context of an overall change which has occurred within all Germanic languages.
A challenge is made here to the claim by T.Vennemann (1974) that the feature of double or embracing negation is characteristic of TVX or verb-second languages.

The following discussion falls into six sections.
Section 1 is a description of the various sorts of negative constructions which can be found at different times during the period of Middle Dutch. Section 2 contains the results of the examination of text material from this time. A list of the texts consulted can be found in the appendix. They differ slightly from those used in the rest of this study. Section 3 concerns explanations for the facts discovered. Conclusions and a summary are contained in section 4, while section 5 examines parallel developments in other Germanic languages. Finally, section 6 offers a brief discussion of the constituent status of the preverbal negator in Dutch.

7.1 The negative construction in Middle Dutch

The following is a description of the various negative constructions which all at one time or another could be found in the history of Middle Dutch.

1) The Single Preverbal Negator

This first construction involves the use of an independent negative particle *ne*, a form which corresponds to Old English *ne*, Gothic *ni*, Old High German *ni* and Old French *ne/nen* . This is the negator which appears in the Old Low Franconian psalter fragments (10th century), unfortunately the only remaining documents of so-called Old Dutch.

By the time of Middle Dutch we more commonly find the reduced variant forms of *ne* which are *en/n*. The forms are frequently enclitic to the preceding element.(2) Moreover by this time the distribution of this negative particle has been severely restricted. It is found almost exclusively in preverbal position.

1. Maer ic *en* weet wanen hi quam.
   'But I don't know where he came from' (Br. 1300)

In early texts it also occurs before the demonstrative *ghene* as sentence (2) illustrates (also containing the preverbal *en*).

2. ....*en ghien* of wijf *en* sullen te gader in de stove gaen
   'No man or woman shall go together to the baths'
   (1413 Hollandish document - Van Loey 1947:274)

In Old Dutch there was not the same severe restriction with regard the distribution of *ne* and its variants, and it could occur freely with all sentence constituents which could carry a negative sense. It appeared regularly before indefinite pronouns, adverbs, coordinators and other elements to give rise to the various negative-incorporated forms we find in Middle Dutch. These include among others - *nemmer* 'never', *niemant* nobody', *niet* 'nothing' and *nergens* 'nowhere'. All of these forms have the same combination of a negative with following positive element, like their Modern English equivalent.

Alone the above Type 1 negator is not a frequent expression for negation in Middle Dutch. It appears to be restricted to a class of what may be described as common usage verbs. This group of verbs includes modals and verbs like 'to say', 'to do', 'to know', 'to speak' etc... Amongst the Germanic languages, and it may also be true of languages from other language groups, there seems to exist an agreement as to the sorts of verbs which occur with older negative constructions, even long after they have been abandoned by other verbs in the language (cf. Jespersen 1917 for English, Lockwood 1968 for German). Whether it is that these verbs through frequent use become almost formulaic in nature and therefore preserve more readily an older negative construction I am not entirely certain.(3) But it is an interesting question and worthy of further investigation.

Before we leave this discussion of Type 1 negation, there are two additional constructions involving *ne* which should be mentioned. The first of these entails only the use of *ne* and no further negative elements. I will call this construction *Paratactic Negation* for reasons which will become apparent when we examine its structure. I believe this particular construction to be peculiar to Middle Dutch. It disappeared from the language when *ne* alone no longer came to be used (i.e. Type 1) and the function of negation was taken over by other constructions (i.e. Type 2 and finally Type 3 as discussed below).

Basically what is involved in paratactic negation is the juxtaposition of two non-dependent clauses without a conjunction (Parataxis). The first clause typically contains either a verb which has been fully negated or else contains one of the negative-incorporated pronominal or adverbial

forms.[4] The second clause is negated also but must contain only the single preverbal negator (i.e. Type 1). Despite the fact that the preverbal negator is present, the second clause must be understood as having a positive meaning (with perhaps a weak underlying negative sense). Significantly the preverbal negator appears alone in this second clause and is best understood as a linking element showing the relationship between the two clauses, similar to the linking effect of corresponding demonstrative elements used in Old English correlation - þā...þā. swā...swā, þonne...þonne etc.. (cf. R. Quirk and C.L. Wrenn (1955) *An Old English Grammar*).

The correlative use of this *ne* in the second clause is best seen as expressing the logical connection between the two clauses which is not overtly expressed by any sort of conjunction. The following are examples of this paratactic use of *ne* found in the texts examined here. In addition to the usual translation provided, a more literal gloss is given underneath the Dutch. The best English translation uses conjunctions like 'unless', 'but', 'lest' for example which themselves carry some negative force like *ne* and therefore like this negative particle can express the relationship between the two clauses while preserving the slight negative sense underlying the second of the clauses.

3. Want also Galienus seit goet vleesch in die wonden *en* mach
   for like Galienus says good flesh in the wounds neg can

   niet werden ghenereert si *en* werden ghemondificeert...
   not be regenerated they neg are cleaned

   'For as G. says, good flesh cannot be made in wounds
   unless they are cleaned...' (Br. 1350)

4. Maer dat *en* mach *niet* siin het *en* waer een sempel wonde...
   but that neg can not be it neg is a simple wound

   'But that cannot be unless it is a simple wound...' (Br. 1350)

5. Soe *en* derf men *niet* ontsien men *en* sal die diepe ende
   so neg should one not fear one neg should the deep and

   hole wonde wel ghenesen...
   hollow wounds well cure

   'So one should not be afraid, *but* one should cure deep
   and hollow wounds...'
   or
   'So one should not be afraid of curing deep and hollow
   wounds...' (Br. 1350)

6. *Nyemant en* moet grave maken in der kerke zy *en* zullen
nobody neg may graves make in the church they neg shall

vijf voete diep wesen.
five feet deep be

'Nobody may dig graves in the churchyard *unless* they are five feet deep' (Hollandish document Van Loey 1947:276)

7. Mer daerom zal ment *niet* laten men *en* sal die enden
but therefore should one-it not neglect one neg should the ends

vanden pesen te gader nayen...
of-the tendons together sew

'But one should not neglect it therefore, *but* one should sew the ends of the tendons together...'
or
'But one should not neglect to sew the ends of the tendons together...' (Br. 1350)

When *ne* appears in these paratactic constructions it clearly cannot carry a full negative sense (evidence that *ne* except in construction with those few common usage verbs can no longer have a full negative meaning - cf. discussion of further negative construction Types 2 and 3). For if the second clause of such sentences as those above were understood as having full logical negative force, confusion would certainly result, if not a complete contradiction as in the following example. (for a slightly different analysis of these type of structures cf. Van der Horst 1981b:50-51).

8. Hi waer gherust ende hem nemmermeer hoeft so sere sweren
he would-be rested and reflexive no-more needs so greatly hurt

hi *en* waer ghenesen droncke hiit.
he neg would-be cured drink he-it

'He would be rested and not suffer any more pain *but* he would be cured if he drank it' (Ho.1350)

The second sort of construction mentioned as involving *ne* is typically called *Pleonastic* or *Redundant Negation* and can be found in a number of other languages (cf. Harris 1978 for French and Lockwood 1968 for German). Unlike paratactic negation the grammar does not demand that only Type 1 negation appears in the second clause of a pleonastic construction. So pleonastic negation does not disappear from the language when other construction types take over the function of negation from single pre-verbal *ne*, which is then dropped from the language.

There are two instances where pleonastic negation is common. Firstly it can be found after comparatives as sentence (9) illustrates.

9. Ghi*en* moget *niet* vorder rechten dan u manne *en* wijsen.
you-neg can not further punish than your men neg ordain

'You cannot punish any more than what your men ordain'
(taken from Van den Berg 1971:37)

Both Jespersen (1917) and Harris (1978) account for the illogical negative as in (9) above maintaining there to be an underlying negative idea which in these early times was expressed overtly (Harris discusses the form found in French and Jespersen the form in English).(5)

A pleonastic negative can also appear in a clause dependent upon a higher verb with an inherently negative sense (verbs like 'to deny', or 'to prevent') or a higher verb which is itself negated (a negative expression of doubt for example). In both instances it is not logical to have full negation in the lower clause. In all the texts studied here and the Middle Dutch grammar books consulted (including the large *Middelnederlandsch Woordenboek*) I could only find one possible example of this sort of pleonastic negation using Type 1 negation. I say only possible example because the *dat* (here underlined in sentence 10 below) is ambiguous as to whether it is in fact a conjunction, or whether it is an object pronoun, in which case we are then dealing with paratactic negation as described above.

10. Doe mocht ic hoir qualic weygeren *dat* ic *en* dede hoer begheren
then could I her scarcely deny that I neg did her desire

'Then I could scarcely deny to her that I desired her'
(taken from Stoett 1909:161)

Stoett, from whom this example was taken, adopts the second interpretation indicated by the comma he places after *dat*.
Van der Horst (personal communication) has suggested in fact another interpretation of this clause, and which I think is the much better of the three. This involves the analysis of *dat* as an object relative pronoun with incorporated antecedent; i.e. the sentence would then read - 'I could scarcely deny to her what I caused her to desire'. By this analysis, the second clause still involves pleonastic negation (as does the analysis of *dat* as a complementizer). But without the context it is extremely difficult to make any decisions as to which of the three is the best interpretation.

The rarity of Type 1 negation in these constructions is in keeping with the overall rarity of *ne/en* as a general expression of negation in the

language. The following two examples are of pleonastic negation using more common negative constructions in the second clauses.

11. Hi woudse hinderen dat si *niet* *en* predicten
he would-them prevent that they not neg preach
'He would prevent them from preaching'

12. Doe wilden si verbieden hem dat hi in den tempel *niet* ghinge.
then would they forbid him that he in the temple not goes
'Then they would forbid him to go into the temple'
(Stoett 1909:161)

Paratactic negation and pleonastic negation are clearly linked in that both involve a semantically redundant negative in the lower clause. And it is not uncommon to find those inherently negative verbs described above as triggering pleonastic negation also in the higher clause of paratactic constructions as in the following sentence.

13. Mi soe *en* twifelt *niet* si *en* moeten verdriet dicke doghen.
me so neg doubts not they neg must sorrow often suffer
(impersonal verb)
'I do not doubt that they must often suffer sorrow'
(taken from Van den Berg 1971:42)

But it is misleading that in the grammars of Stoett and Van den Berg for example no clear distinction is made between the two. Whereas pleonastic negation involves a subordinator paratactic negation characteristically involves lack of subordination. *En* in the latter construction has an important syntactic function of linking the two independent clauses. But I agree with Van der Horst (1981a:76) that it is itself in no way to be treated as a conjunction (it has wrong placement for one thing). However as *en* anyway disappears as the general expression of negation and with the overall replacement of parataxis by hypotaxis characteristic of these early Germanic dialects these paratactic constructions are replaced by ones with overt conjunctions (cf. footnote 15).

Paratactic negation was then a grammatical feature of Middle Dutch. But I do not believe that pleonastic negation ever developed as a fixed rule in the grammar, as it did for example in the grammar of French. My impression is that like German and English (cf. examples below) its appearance was only ever sporadic. The fact that various sorts of negative constructions could appear in the lower clause suggest that

pleonastic negation was not a syntactic function of *en* as was paratactic negation and was not a fixed rule in the language.

I want to make one final observation on these pleonastic negatives with regard to Modern English. Speakers of English find such structures difficult to interpret. Nonetheless similar constructions are freqently uttered in the language. Sentences like the following do not sound ungrammatical although they contain an illogical negative in the second clause.

Do you deny you didn't commit the crime?
I wouldn't be surprised if it didn't rain.
I never doubted you wouldn't succeed.

2) Embracing Negation

Certainly by the time of Middle Dutch double or embracing negation was the rule rather than the exception.(6) We have already seen examples of negative-incorporated adverbs and pronouns appearing with the preverbal negator *ne* or one of its reduced variants (sentences 2,3,4,5,6,9,11,13). Sentences 14-17 are further examples.

14. *Nemmermeer en* corrumpiret *noch* commen dar wormen yn.
'It will not decay any more and nor will any worms appear' (Ho. 1500)

15. *Nyemant en* moet upten kerchove hout zaghen.
'Noone may saw wood in the churchyard' (Hollandish document 1413 Van Loey 1947:277)

16. Dese salve is goet op eyn hoeft daer *gheen* haer op *een* wasset.
'This cream is good for a head on which no hair grows' (Ho. 1500)

17. ...soe *en* es dat hersenbecken *niet* al doer.
'...then the cranium is not completely split' (Br. 1350)

By far the most important of these negative-incorporated forms is *niet* (*ne* + *iet* 'neg + something' = nothing) which when used in conjunction with the preverbal negative particle is the most common expression of negation. The particle *niet* occurs to the right of the verb in main clauses (the near-to-end position of the verb in subordinate clauses means that here it will appear to the left of the verb), but apart from this restriction shows great flexibility of placement.

3) Single Postverbal Negation

A third kind of negative construction occurs in Middle Dutch which involves only the postverbal negator *niet*. We have already had one example of this in sentence (12). The following is another.

18. Fistel die *niet* ghenesen....
'Fistula which can not be cured...' (Ho. 1500)

In those instances of ellipsis, where no main verb is present, or in instances which do not involve negation of the whole sentence *niet* alone is used and is placed before the constituent to be negated.
I might just point out here a problem which exists when making the distinction between constituent or special negation (the scope of the negation is only one part of the proposition) and sentence or nexal negation (the scope of the negation is the entire proposition).(7)
This distinction is an important one in a study like this since what we are dealing with here are developments which have taken place in the expression of sentence negation. Including instances of constituent negation will lead to misleadingly high percentages of postverbal negation with *niet*. Nonetheless I maintain that in dealing with only written records where we have no access to considerations of pausing and stress for example, it is not always possible to distinguish cases of constituent negation. Van der Horst and Van der Wal (1979:11-12) maintain in their study that cases of special negation are clear by their omission of the preverbal negator *en/ne/n*.
Whenever the preverbal negator is present, they claim, it is a matter of sentence negation. But is this correct? The problem as I see it is twofold -

i) As is shown below *niet* is emerging as the general negator so lack of the preverbal negator cannot be a reliable signal for special negation.
ii) There exists a tendency within languages for negative elements to be attracted to the verb which means that even in instances where the negative notion logically belongs to some other constituent syntactically the negative element(s) will appear near the verb.(8)

Because of this difficulty I have decided to omit from the count only those instances where a contrast obviously signals special negation

(sentence 19) or where ellipsis is involved (sentence 20).

19. Want zy is *niet* quaad maar ghoed.
for it is neg bad but good
'For it is not bad, but good' (Coornhert 1586)

20. Ende laet dat wel heet worden mer *niet* sieden.
and let it well hot become but neg boil
'And let it get hot enough, but not boil'
(Boek va Wondre 1513)

For the rest then I have adopted the principle that a) because of the marginal meaning difference between constituent and sentence negation ('he isn't happy' versus 'he is unhappy' for example) and, b) because of the natural attraction of negators to the verb - speakers will reserve constituent negation only for the purpose of emphasis. I maintain that for neutral utterances the distinction is not of importance for speakers. How many speakers are aware that by using sentence negation - where logically it is a matter of constituent negation - they are making a contradiction when they utter the following sentence -

21. We aren't here to play games but to get down to business.

So I have treated all doubtful cases (where the distinction between sentence and constituent negation is not obvious) as instances of sentence negation. If examples of constituent negation have been wrongly counted they will be included both under instances of postverbal *niet* (because of (i) above) and under instances of embracing negation *ne...niet* (because of (ii) above) so it will make little difference to the final results.

The following Section 2 examines the gradual disappearance of *ne/en* in Type 2 negation and the emergence of *niet* (Type 3 negation) as the general marker of negation. Type 1 negation, anyway very rare by this time, is not included in the discussion.

7.2 Changes which have taken place in the negative construction

The statistical evidence presented by Van der Horst and Van der Wal is thought to be inadequate for a number of reasons.

i) Their results draw heavily from source material which is made up largely of poetry. As poetry is notorious for taking syntactic liberties to accommodate considerations of style, rhyme and rhythm

for example, it cannot be without reservations considered suitable for any sort of syntactic study.[9]

ii) Detailed statistics are given only for the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The description of negation for early years gives the appearance of being impressionistic and not based on statistical evidence.

iii) A large number of works are sampled, larger in fact than the sample here. But the size of each sample seems small, and it would appear that on a number of occasions this has resulted in a misleading account of the facts involved (it is difficult to know exactly how big the sample size is since the figures are not provided with the percentages). Overall trends, however, are the same as those found here.

iv) Although the question of dialect differences is raised it is not followed through.

Firstly, a brief word about the source material used here since it is based on a slightly different corpus of texts (the details of each text is provided in Appendix 2). Once more the texts used here are largely non-literary and comprise as earlier texts of instruction, such as medical treatises, recipes and herbals. A number of religious prose works, legal documents, travelogues and private letters have also been included.

All texts are original, although for those works where no author or date is given there is always the risk that the original work is lost, and what we have is a copy of a later date. But this is always a problem when dealing with an early language - the date of the existing manuscript may be very much later than when the text was conceived and first written down.

Certainly no translations are included here. Occasionally works, especially medical texts, may have sections which are versions (not translations) of an older Latin original. But what matters here is that the language is original, even if the ideas are not. And for the Middle Ages when originality was not applauded and plagiarism thrived this is true of many works, both non-literary and literary.

For the purposes of this study clauses were divided into:

Type 1 (MC) - main declarative clauses (with dominant verb-second order)
Type 2 (SC) - subordinate clauses (with end or near-to-end verb position)
Type 3 (IC) - imperatives, yes/no questions, conjunctionless conditional clauses (with dominant verb-initial order)[10]

Texts were examined for each different clause type and the negative patterns were identified and described and their frequency tabulated for different times over a time span of between 1300 and 1700. Since what is of concern here is the gradual disappearance of the preverbal negator *ne/en/n* and the emergence of *niet* as the expression of negation, results give the percentage of the deletion of the preverbal negator (i.e. the percentage of single postverbal *niet* occurrences). The method of selecting a fixed number of pages for each text was found unsuitable, for while some texts abounded in negative constructions, other texts showed less, so of course considerably more text was needed. For each text enough samples were found to be considered representative and therefore yield statistically significant results. The number of samples found is given in brackets after the percentage. The low number of Type 3 clauses is unavoidable. They are infrequently used clauses, especially negated.

TABLE 1 General Negation *ne/en/n.....niet*

DIALECT: BRABANTISH % - DELETION

	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650
MC's Type 1	0% (6)	2% (64)			9% (22)	12% (43)	5% (57)	9% (45)
SC's Type 2	5% (39)	4% (83)			0% (43)	0% (59)	5% (75)	6% (49)
IC's Type 3	21% (17)	12% (17)			50% (12)	-	57% (7)	100% (14)

TABLE 2 General Negation *ne/en/n.....niet*

DIALECT: HOLLANDISH % - DELETION

	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650
MC's Type 1	28% (39)	25% (12)	11% (47)	17% (12)	48% (29)		30% (67)	100% (50)
SC's Type 2	8% (40)	36% (28)	2% (66)	0% (22)	28% (61)		8% (72)	98% (68)
IC's Type 3	43% (7)	75% (4)	83% (6)	20% (10)	77% (22)		100% (17)	100% (13)

TABLE 3	15th century legal documents (+ 1400 - + 1450)	% - DELETION
	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
MC's Type 1	0% (6)	14% (7)
SC's Type 2	0% (46)	7% (29)
IC's Type 3	-	75% (4)

TABLE 4	The letters of P.C. Hooft	% - DELETION
	HOLLANDISH	
	letters 1599-1615	letters 1645-1647
MC's Type 1	39% (26)	100% (19)
SC's Type 2	12% (34)	100% (41)
IC's Type 3	100% (4)	100% (5)

TABLE 5	Journal (1618-1625) Willem Ysbrantsz. Bontekoe van Hoorn	
	HOLLANDISH	% - DELETION
MC's Type 1	93% (45)	
SC's Type 2	77% (39)	
IC's Type 3	100% (3)	

TABLE 6 All Negative Constructions *ne/en/n.....negative element**

DIALECT: BRABANTISH % - DELETION

	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650
MC's Type 1	2% (50)	1% (79)			6% (35)	10% (71)	4% (103)	7% (76)
SC's Type 2	3% (71)	1% (114)			0% (50)	1% (75)	6% (108)	11% (75)
IC's Type 3	21% (24)	10% (20)			50% (18)	-	56% (9)	100% (14)

*negative elements include *niet, niement, noyt, nemmer(meer), geen, maer, noch etc...*

TABLE 7 All Negative Constructions *ne/en/n.....negative element*

DIALECT: HOLLANDISH % - DELETION

	1300	1350	1400	1450	1500	1550	1600	1650
MC's Type 1	25% (44)	18% (22)	8% (62)	19% (21)	39% (38)		23% (127)	100% (77)
SC's Type 2	6% (50)	38% (42)	4% (80)	0% (26)	27% (75)		10% (105)	99% (87)
IC's Type 3	33% (9)	80% (5)	83% (6)	23% (13)	80% (25)		100% (17)	100% (14)

TABLE 8 15th century legal texts (all negative constructions) (± 1400 - ± 1450)

% -DELETION

	BRABANTISH	HOLLANDISH
MC's Type 1	0% (16)	7% (58)
SC's Type 2	0% (68)	5% (37)
IC's Type 3	-	80% (5)

Comments made in the following discussion refer more specifically to Tables 1-5. Tables 6-8 were included to see whether the deletion of the preverbal negator differed in those constructions involving all other negative-incorporated forms (*niets, nemmermeer, niemant* etc..). It appears that this is in fact not so - statistics do not vary significantly. By increasing the sample then results given in Tables 6-8 confirm those in Tables 1-5.

From the results it is clear that a difference existed as early as 1300 between the two dialects in their expression of negation. The earliest documents examined for Brabant show almost exclusive use of embracing negation for main and subordinate clauses (only three examples of deletion found in 1350 for example) but a slightly greater percentage for Type 3 clauses.[11] Significant increases in deletion occur only for these Type 3 clauses, reaching 100% deletion 1650. Embracing negation, however, remains the dominant pattern for main and subordinate clauses for this dialect, with main clauses showing perhaps a slightly greater tendency towards deletion.

Hollandish of the north presents a very different picture. As early as 1300 all clause types show a considerable degree of deletion. Again

Type 3 clauses are the most innovative showing 43% deletion in 1300 and 100% deletion in 1600. Main clauses remain fairly constant (average of 26% deletion) until the 17th century where there is an increase to 100% in 1650. I cannot explain the strangely conservative results gained for 1450, especially regarding Type 3 clauses. It may be that we are in fact dealing with a text from an earlier date (cf. difficulty of determining age of documents in earlier discussion) for certainly the results gained from the legal documents of this time (Table 3) are in keeping with the pattern of development. Most interesting statistics come from an examination of the letters of P.C. Hooft. While his earlier letters reveal embracing negation to be the dominant pattern, his later letters show no trace of this construction.

Rather curious statistics exist for subordinate clauses for Hollandish. Van der Horst and Van der Wal report in their study occasional deletion of *ne/en/n* in this environment during early Middle Dutch (unfortunately they do not say exactly where), sporadic deletion during the fifteenth century and none at all during the sixteenth century. During the seventeenth century deletion in the subordinate clause appears again. They offer a complex but interesting explanation for this which has to do with the syntactic development of the subordinate clause. Here Tables 2 and 3 reveal a curious fluctuation in the statistics for subordinate clauses. Their explanation cannot account for these facts. An alternative proposal is given here which has to do with the phonetic environment surrounding the negative particle.

In Middle Dutch any word which is unaccented has the potential to be reduced and cliticize to the neighbouring word, and this potential cliticization is reflected in the early orthography of the time, although not consistently. The class of words which could reduce in this way is vast - determiners, pronouns, prepositions - any word which could appear unstressed (cf. Zwicky 1977 where he refers to these as 'simple clitics'). Most common in Middle Dutch are enclitics, whereby the reduced element attaches itself to the element preceding. Frequently this would mean the disappearance entirely of the would-be-clitic if it were similar in phonology to its host (the word to which it attaches itself).

22. Ende *en* laet *niet* te seer droghen.
    and neg let-it neg too much dry (*laet* = *laet dat* (*laetet*))
    'Don't let it dry too much' (Br. 1500)

As previously mentioned the preverbal negator frequently appears unstressed and enclitic to the preceding element: *hine* = *hi* + *ne*, *in* = *ic* + *en*, *inne* = *ic* + *ne*, *hen* = *het* + *en*. Here the negative elements have merged with the preceding subject pronouns.

If we examine the occasional high percentage of deletion of *ne/en/n* in early Middle Dutch and take into account the preceding environment where we would expect the negator to otherwise appear an alternative explanation emerges. In 1300 all examples of subordinate clause deletion involve a compound verb form of the kind - infinitive followed by main verb. Sentence (23) is one such example.

23. ...dat men oxizaker *niet* stadelike den zieken gheven sal.
'...so that one shouldn't give oxizaker immediately to the patient' (Ho. 1300)

In 1350 all but one of the instances of deletion involve this kind of construction as sentence (24) illustrates.

24. Dat helpt wel den ghenen die siin spise *niet* verduwen mach.
'That greatly helps those who can't digest their meal' (Ho. 1350)

But take note of sentence (25) in the same text where the preverbal negator is present.

25. Die muscate is goet die die siin spise *niet en* mach verduwen.
'Nutmeg is good for those who can't digest their meal' (Ho. 1350)

In 1500 14 of the 17 cases of deletion involve a compound verb with the infinitive preceding the main verb.

26. Dy *nyt* slapen mach.
'Those who can't sleep' (Ho. 1500)

The environment directly preceding where we might otherwise expect the negator to appear is the infinitive *-en* ending; that is, precisely the sort of environment which we might predict would condition the disappearance of the negative particle. With the infinitive ending already weak in the language and frequently abbreviated by scribes to a dash - *neme̅* = *nemen*, it is not surprising that the following reduced negative should also disappear.

Certainly as spelling becomes more standardized towards the late sixteenth century cliticization of this sort disappears from the orthography

which would account for the drop in the percentage of deletion until the 17th century when it is anyway common for all clause types. In addition *modal aux + infinitive* is becoming the more usual word order. Here deletion could not occur on these phonetic grounds. Because this phenomenon is not represented consistently in the orthography and is not a feature of the writing of all scribes this would account for the early fluctuation in the statistics.
It is curious that these facts directly contradict J.L. Pauwels who in his 1950 study on the position of the main verb in the subordinate clause of a modern day Brabantish dialect (Aarschot) maintains that the now archaic negative particle *en* is retained only in those subordinate clauses like the above; that is, with the word order - *infinitive : negator en : main verb* (*modal*). There is certainly nothing here to support this claim and I have no explanation as to why the *en* negator should be preserved in precisely this environment where it proved to be so unstable in the early language. Certainly this phonetic conditioning for deletion was not as prevalent in Brabantish texts during the Middle Ages. Perhaps we have here an instance of a dialect difference.

The same sort of phonetic conditioning also exists in those main clauses which begin with the adverb *dan* ('then') or the indefinite *men* ('one'). In 1300 half of the main clauses with deletion involve sentence initital *men*.

27. Men sal den saffraen *niet* tevele besighen.
    one should the saffron neg too-much use
    'You shouldn't use too much saffron' (Ho. 1300)

Similarly in the Hollandish text of 1350 two out of three cases of main clause deletion involve subject initital noun phrases with plural *-en* endings.

28. Die boonen sien *niet* goed te verduwen.
    the beans are neg good to digest
    'Beans aren't good to digest' (Ho. 1350)

In Van den Berg's section on negation (Van den Berg 1971) such cases of negated clauses with initial *men* (or adverb *dan* 'then') are treated as ambiguous and *men* is rewritten as *men + en*. Similarly Stoops (1971) maintains such examples are unclear as to the presence or absence of *en*.

"Twijfelen kunnen we ook in gevallen waarin *men* als onderwerp vóór het Vf in de hoofdzin voorkomt....aangezien de slot-n van *men* blijkbaar niet in alle omstandigheden uitgesproken werd" (page 145). But the crucial point for our purposes here is that the preverbal negator is simply not overtly expressed in a number of these constructions (including those subordinate clauses discussed above) in the written language. Whether or not it was felt (or is felt by speakers of those modern southern dialects where the same problem exists cf. Koelmans 1967) to be really present, all we have here to go on is the written language and I have no choice therefore but to treat such cases as examples of deletion.(12)

Hollandish texts of 1450 and 1500 also contain a small number of main clauses with initial *men* which show deletion. This phenomenon is not so prevalent in Brabantish it seems, although in 1500 for example one out of the two instances of main clause deletion is sentence (29).(13)

29. Men salt *niet* vergallen
'One shouldn't make it bitter' (Br. 1500)

7.21 The confusion between the preverbal negator and conjunction *en*

Confusion seems to have existed during the time of Middle Dutch in distinguishing the preverbal negative particle *en* and the coordinating conjunction *ende* (abbreviated *ēn*). In the manuscripts of early Middle Dutch 'errors' were frequent whereby dashes were written above what can only be understood as the negative particle *en*, or in fact *ende* appeared in full.

30. Die ēn sullen int eerste iaer gheen vruchten draghen
they neg! should in-the first year no fruit bear
'They should bear no fruit in the first year' (Br. 1500)

31. Dat vlees ende hielt niet aent been.
the flesh neg! holds neg onto-the bone
'The flesh does not hold onto the bone' (Br. 1350)

Similarly dashes were ommitted from what can only be interpreted as coordinating conjunctions.

32. En wildyt licht blaeu hebben.....
and want-you-it light blue have
'And if you want it light blue.....' (Br.1500)

It is not clear whether these are correctly labelled scribal 'errors' or whether any clear distinction between the forms *en* negator and *ende* conjunction (which anyway had become *en* by Early New Dutch) existed at all for speakers of the time. 'Errors' were so common that it is more likely that the distinction had in fact collapsed and speakers were alternating the forms freely. In interpreting the texts of this time a problem naturally arises when confronted with a sentence like the following:

33. En yst dan *niet* swert ghenoech....
neg? is-it then neg black enough
and?

'If it isn't black enough....' (Br. 1500)

Knowing that at this time the preverbal negator deletes over 50% of the time for these Type 3 clauses and knowing the frequency with which *en* appears in this text as the conjunction, it is not with any great confidence that I have described such sentences as having embracing negation.

But even more problematic cases arise during the 17th century when *en* is now the accepted coordinating conjunction. Again the problems exist for Type 3 clauses (imperatives, interrogatives and conjunctionless conditionals) and some conjoined main clauses with gapped subject.

34. En drinkt *geen* sout water!
neg? drink no salt water
and?

'Do not drink any salt water!' (Bontekoe van Hoorn, p.104)

35. en soude ik *niet* huylen?
neg? should I neg cry

'Shouldn't I cry?' (Passchier de Fyne, p.291)

I have not included such ambiguous sentences in the final count. Although Van der Horst and Van der Wal do not state how they deal with these doubtful cases, it is likely that they interpret them as instances of embracing negation since they report only 82% deletion for Type 3 clauses for the southern writer Poirters against my 100%.[14] I agree with them however (p.18) that the appearance of *en* as the conjunction and the disappearance of *en* as the preverbal negator are linked. The ambiguity which we have seen can arise with the two elements

identical in form will no doubt have the effect of accelerating the demise of negative *en*, especially in these Type 3 clauses where it is anyway rare. And for phonetic reasons negative *en* is under pressure to drop out in these environments. It is not likely that the combination '*En en*' (and + negative) would be tolerated.

7.3 Explanation for the facts of Dutch negation

The following diagram summarizes the development of the negative construction in Dutch. As Jespersen (1917) was the first to draw our attention to the cyclic nature of this change (and to the fact that it is a change common to all languages of the Germanic family, as well as French), it is appropriate that, like Dahl (1979:88) we refer to this as 'Jespersen's Cycle'. In section 7.5, we will argue that changes in modern Germanic languages reflect a further development in this ongoing cycle; namely, a move towards preverbal negation.

preverbal negation	→	embracing negation	→	postverbal negation
ne/en/n		*ne/en/n.....niet*		*niet*(15)

Several explanations have been put forward which attempt to account for the changes in negation described by 'Jespersen's Cycle'.

7.31 The traditional explanation

First put forward by Jespersen himself (1917, Chapter 1), this explanation has since been adopted by other linguists (Harris 1978 for French, Traugott 1972 for English and to a lesser extent Lockwood 1968 for German). This account views the preverbal negator (*non* in Latin, for example) as gradually weakening over time by the 'erosive' effects of phonological change (to *ne* in Modern French). As these particles lose their distinctiveness they are felt insufficient to express the negative sense and reinforcing elements always present for instances of emphasis now become an integral part of the negation, as more and more they are felt to carry the negative meaning. The preverbal particle is now rendered redundant and, already weakened, drops away entirely.

We have already discussed the question earlier of whether elements can, in fact, be reduced while they are still functional when we spoke of

the loss of case endings and the compensatory grammaticalization of word order (Chapter 2, section 2.5). As Kohonen (1978:21) concludes, "it is hard to tell which (is) the cause and which the effect in this intricate process". Koch (1974), for one, maintains this is *not* possible (cf. also Van der Horst and Van der Wal 1979:23-24). And with something as crucial as a negator, I would also suggest that its reduction be the *effect* here rather than the *cause*: that is, as Vennemann (1974:373) also argues, the negative particle is weakened *because* the function of negation is taken over by these reinforcing elements. The emphatic supporting words should not then be viewed as compensation for the eroding negative particle but as the reason for its demise. As Vennemann further points out, it is not uncommon in a language for pragmatically marked structures to become unmarked through frequent use, just as when these emphatic constructions become the normal markers of negation.(16) This has been described as a 'markedness reversal' in the literature, or by Vennemann as 'pragmatic unmarking'.

As a description of the change under consideration this account is adequate but as an explanation it fails on several counts. To account for similar developments in related languages it must appeal to some sort of idea of 'syntactic drift' - or a parallel tendency towards the weakening of the preverbal negator. But this would not explain why this occurs at different rates in these languages (cf. section 7.5). Why is Modern French only now showing signs of losing *ne*? Why do dialect differences exist in Dutch? Why was the whole process completed as early as 600 in Scandinavian?
In other words the manner in which the changes in negation take place has been adequately account for (i.e. the 'how'). But the cause of the changes, be it internal or external, remains a mystery (i.e. the 'why'). The following is a brief account of Vennemann's proposal which offers a possible reason behind the changes.

7.32 Vennemann's proposal

Vennemann offers an account of negation within his usual typological schema (best exemplified in Vennemann 1974). Basically, his arguments run as follows. Preverbal modifiers are characteristic of OV (or XV) languages, while postverbal modifiers are characteristic of VO (or VX)

languages (as defined by Vennemann's 'principle of natural serialization'). Accordingly, it follows that preverbal negation is consistent with the former, postverbal negation with the latter.(17)

Positing Proto-Indo-European with SOV syntax, Vennemann assumes therefore that the language negated by placing a negative element before the verb (early evidence from P-I-E dialects supports this).(18) Languages such as Dutch and the other Germanic languages have, then, either undergone or are in the process of undergoing a typological shift from SOV to SVO syntax. Such a change in the position of the verb will accordingly bring about related changes in the positioning of elements elsewhere (such as the position of the negative marker) as the language moves towards greater typological consistency; i.e. as it acquires more and more SVO features. The period of embracing negation, therefore, is viewed by Vennemann as a transition stage, a feature of TVX type, the intermediate stage between SOV and SVO type, where the verb is seen as separating the topic (T) from all other elements of the sentence. The following diagram summarizes Vennemann's position.

SXV ⟶ TVX ⟶ SVX
(preverbal negation) (embracing negation) (postverbal negation)

> "We can conclude that the transference of the negative adverb from the position before the finite verb to the position after the finite verb is a predictable accompaniment of the verb shift, i.e. of the change from XV to VX. De-emphasization of emphatic negation constructions is the vehicle of this word order change. Its immediate result is the embracing negation, its final result the negative adverbial *on the other side* of the finite verb. Embracing negation is thus a typical feature of TVX languages" (Vennemann 1974:370)

It is clear from the above quotation that Vennemann relies on Jespersen's original observations to account for the 'how' of the change, or as he describes it 'the vehicle' of the change. With respect to the 'why' of the change, Vennemann offers the usual transition argument where any change (here the change in the negative construction) can be 'explained' simply if it can be shown to promote typological consistency. We have already discussed at length the criticism which has been aimed at this sort of teleological approach (cf. here Chapter 2, section 2.5, and also

Lightfoot 1978, 1979, Harris 1982a and Burridge 1978) and it is not necessary to repeat the arguments here. In brief, however - simply showing change to be an instance of typological drift can not be an explanation for the change - the cause still remains unknown. But in this case, even ignoring this general criticism, a more serious problem exists for Vennemann's proposal; namely, that the position of the negator does not appear to have any connection at all with the word order typology of the sort Vennemann proposes.

It has often been observed (Jespersen 1917, Hirt 1937 and also Gerritsen 1982a) that languages exhibit a tendency to place the negator as close to the verb as possible, generally preverbally.

> "...there is a natural tendency, also for the sake of clearness, to place the negative first, or at any rate as soon as possible, very often immediately before the particular word to be negated (generally the verb)"
> (Jespersen 1917:5)

> "...from the fact that negation tends to occur sentence initially or before the verb..."
> (Hirt 1937:73, my translation)

> "The majority of OV languages tend to use the same order for negative marker and verb stem as the SVO and VSO languages, generally placing the negative marker before the verb stem. In this view Current Dutch is exceptional, placing the negative marker after the verb stem"
> (Gerritsen 1982a:71)

These observations are given substance by Dahl's 1979 study of 240 languages. There he discovers a stiking preference for preverbal negation, especially for uninflecting negative particles such as we have for Dutch. In his sample of languages, appromimately 81% of those with uninflecting negative particles place them before the verb; this percentage figure increases if the 'borderline' cases of prefixal negation (where it is not clear whether it is a matter of morphological or syntactic negation) are included. In no way, then, can change in the positioning of a negative marker be attributed to, or in any direct way connected with, a change in the word order typology OV to VO as Vennemann would have us believe. Not only is the motivation now gone for Vennemann's claim that embracing negation is a TVX feature, but the following section should make it clear that he

is mistaken for another reason. Embracing negation disappears from Dutch precisely at the time that it adopts strict TVX or verb-second syntax. In fact, it is clear that it is the verb-second constraint of TVX type that is responsible for the demise of this negative construction.

7.33 An alternative proposal

An explanation for the changes which have taken place in the Dutch negative construction becomes apparent when we examine more general changes which have taken place in the syntax of the language. The outline of this whole explanation is in fact contained within the article of Van der Horst and Van der Wal although it has not been developed there as fully as it might have been. The following quotation is a useful summary of their position.

> "In conclusion we write the following. The process of *en* via *en...niet* towards *niet* can, as has been proposed by Vennemann, be accommodated within the much more general tendency in many Indo-European languages for OV-structures to be replaced by VO-structures. What is essential then in the transference of *en* to *niet* is the replacement of a preverbal by a postverbal negator. To explain the way in which this replacement takes place the related but not the identical process of the fixing of the word order must at the same time be taken into consideration"
>
> (my translation, Van der Horst and Van der Wal 1979:33)

Although they do not try to attribute any causal role to this shift in typology they can nonetheless be criticised here for viewing the changes in the Dutch negative construction within such a typological schema. More interesting is their reference to the process of the fixing of word order. They mention three different but related syntactic processes which have taken place in the history of Dutch. These should perhaps more appropriately be called 'drifts' as they are clearly related to the three 'drifts' Sapir saw in 1921 as having occurred in English (briefly the levelling of the subject/object distinction, the fixing of word order and the rise of the invariable word). The three drifts which have occurred in Dutch are

i) the shift from SOV to SVO structures
ii) the development of a more rigid word order
iii) word orders deviating from the neutral grammaticalized word order take on their own syntactic function.

Now let us re-examine briefly a few more facts about the development of the word order of early Dutch to see how the grammaticalization of word order patterns could have brought about changes in the negative construction.

From the results and discussion so far it is clear that the period of Middle Dutch was one of considerably freer word order than is the case today in Modern Dutch. As Jansen (1980:147) so neatly summarizes in his article on Middle Dutch left-dislocation:

> "Dutch has changed from a language in which the word order ...was determined by the pragmatic function of the elements, towards a language with a word order which is determined by the syntactic function of the elements"

The first word order to become fixed was verb-initial order which came to mark only imperatives, yes/no questions and conjunctionless conditionals. Although this study has not looked in detail at any of the Type 3 clauses, an informal analysis revealed that, of the three, imperative clauses were the last to grammaticalize verb-initial order. Both conjunctionless conditionals and yes/no questions, on the other hand, even from the earliest texts showed a much more rigid order. This observation is confirmed by the results of a recent investigation by Gerritisen (1982a) into the development of imperative clause order in Dutch. Whereas in 1300 her findings showed only 41% verb-first imperative clauses, in 1600 they showed 90%. Her texts were southern, from the Flemish-Brabantish area. It would be interesting to compare these results with a similar study from the north. From the trends set here by other clause types, I would predict that Hollandish imperative clauses would also have grammaticalized their word order earlier than those of the south. With respect to the other two Type 3 clauses, however, neither conjunctionless conditionals nor yes/no questions would have the same possibilities for topicalization which is presumably why they show a fixed verb-initial order right from the start.

The neutral grammaticalized pattern for declarative main clauses emerged as obligatory verb-second order, whereby only one constituent was ever allowed to precede the finite verb. This is what we find in the language today. But even though the results given here in Chapter 4 (section 4.1) show this to have been the dominant pattern from even the earliest documents, it is quite clear that verb-second order was *not*

obligatory until well into the 17th century. Until this time, Dutch must be described as, what Jansen (1980) terms, "a moderate verb-second language". Deviation from this order was permitted and it was not uncommon to find more than one constituent preceding the verb. In addition elements could on occasion intervene between the subject and its verb (including the various resumptive pronominal and adverbial items which we discussed in connection with topicalization). And it was only later that a sentence-initial dependent clause triggered subject-verb inversion (cf. Chapter 4, section 4.14). Similarly, we discussed the use of verb-initial order in clauses with indefinite subjects, and (like verb-final order also) as a cohesive device for main clauses in sequence.

It is appropriate here to refer for a moment back to Vennemann's typological schema. We have on a number of occasions mentioned Vennemann's TVX languages, which like Dutch are characterized by a strict verb-second constraint. But, in fact, in his article of 1974, Vennemann describes two sorts of TVX type, one of which has no such strict verb-second rule. This he refers to as Post-Topic TVX type, as more than one topic can precede the verb.[19] For some strange reason no mention has been made since of Post-Topic TVX, even by Vennemann himself, and TVX type as always been considered synonymous with the verb-second constraint.

Clearly early Middle Dutch, then, was a Post-Topic TVX type - more than one topic or fronted constituent could and frequently did precede the verb, and elements like the resumptive adverbial and pronominal forms, and the negator could intervene between the subject and its verb. By the 17th century, Hollandish had become a strict verb-second TVX language. At least with regard to the Brabantish texts examined here (until the mid 17th century) no such constraint on the verb position existed. As we have discussed, for some reason Brabantish appeared to lag behind Hollandish with respect to the grammaticalization of word order. But the question of dialect differences will be taken up again below.

How, then, does this grammaticalization of word order account for the facts of negation for Dutch and related languages?
If we examine the statistics for the deletion of *ne/en/n* and the clause

types involved, it appears that the presence of this negative particle throughout the history of Middle Dutch becomes increasingly sensitive to clause type - or more correctly, the constraint on the position of the verb determines its presence or absence. As Van der Horst and Van der Wal (p.27) point out *ne/en/n* will not appear in imperatives, interrogatives and conditionals where its appearance would destroy the verb-initial character of these constructions. Although individual statistics are not given here for each of the above three clause types of Type 3, it was found that imperatives show a greater tolerance of the preverbal negator and are the last of the Type 3 clauses to abandon it totally. It is fitting then that imperatives, as we discussed, are the last to acquire, within Type 3, strict verb-initial order.

Regarding main clauses, as the verb-second order becomes fixed so too is *ne/en/n* under pressure to delete so as not to violate the emerging verb-second constraint. It is puzzling that Van der Horst and Van der Wal make a distinction between subject initial main clauses (SVO) and those with some constituent other than the subject in initial position (TVX). Their motivation seems to arise from a claim they make that in early Middle Dutch deletion of *ne/en/n* occurred only in TVX main clauses and not those with initial subject. In view of the fact that they quote three counter-examples (i.e. subject initial main clauses without a preverbal negator) it is likely that their small sample has yielded misleading results and led them to the wrong conclusion. For, certainly, findings here do not support such a claim. There is no significant variation in *en*-deletion between TVX and SVO main clauses.

But their claim is made even more puzzling when their statistics for 16th and 17th century are examined for there subject initial main clauses (with a few exceptional works) show a greater tendency to delete. Again this may be due to their small sample (they admit that 100% deletion for subject initial main clauses in Van Mander (1604) is based on only one example).

It is puzzling that in their argument for the grammaticalization of word order bringing about the change to postverbal negation they use as evidence the fact that the TVX main clauses are among the first clause types to lose the preverbal negator. For surely both TVX and SVO

structures are identical with regard to the position of the main verb - both show verb-second order. If an *en* were allowed to intervene between subject and verb or fronted constituent (T) and verb, violation of verb-second constraint would result in both cases. There is no structural reason why these two main clause orders should differ as regards their tendency to delete the preverbal negator, and certainly there is no evidence in the data here to suggest that this might be otherwise.

To summarize then, early Middle Dutch possessed a high degree of flexibility of word order. Consequently all negative constructions could appear without violating any existing word order constraints. Single postverbal negation began first to appear in those environments where word order was becoming fixed. Late Middle Dutch shows *niet* used exclusively with verb-first clauses, the first order to be fixed (although this occurs later in imperatives than the other verb-initial clauses). Exclusive use of *niet* with main clauses was not the case until the 17th century although different dialects show variation here (cf. discussion below). Until this time verb-second order was not obligatory and more than one constituent could appear before the verb. But as verb-second order became strict the preverbal negator needed to drop out so the verb-second character of these clauses would be preserved. So in addition to phonological conditioning the appearance of *ne/en/n* is also sensitive to clause type. Clearly no such structural pressure resulting from any constraint on the position of the verb existed in subordinate clauses to force the disappearance of the preverbal negator. It is fitting, then, that these clauses should be the last to totally abandon embracing negation. Subordinate clauses also would not have the additional ambiguity problems distinguishing *en* as conjunction and negator which had the effect of speeding up the disappearance of the preverbal negator in main clauses. It has been the claim of a number of linguists that innovations are introduced into main clauses first and then spread to dependent clauses (cf. discussion here Chapter 5). Results here confirm this. Under analogy with the main clause we would expect the subordinate clause also to eventually abandon embracing negation, which is what we do find during the 17th century.

7.34 Dialect differences

Tables 1 and 2 reveal differences between Hollandish and Brabantish as to the tolerance of the deletion of the preverbal negator. The texts examined for 17th century Brabantish show less than 10% deletion of *ne/en/n* in both subordinate and main declarative clauses. These findings are supported by those of Van der Horst and Van der Wal although they offer no explanation for the difference.

An explanation presents itself here. It seems that at least until the 17th century Brabantish remained a Post-Topic TVX language with no strict verb-second constraint. Items like the preverbal negator could intervene between the subject and its verb without violating any constraint on the verb position. That *ne/en/n* had however disappeared entirely from Type 3 clauses is not surprising since by the middle of the 17th century Brabantish had a fixed verb-initial order here which would not admit a preverbal negative particle.

There have been a number of recent studies which examine the existence of negative *en* in certain dialects today - Pauwels 1950, Tavernier 1959, Vanacker 1965, Koelmans 1967 and Stoops 1971. It is on observations contained within these articles that I base the following brief discussion.

It appears that *en....niet* embracing negation has disappeared from modern-day Brabantish. It is preserved only sporadically in subordinate clauses and even then confined to the speech of elderly people. I would suggest that Brabantish has developed strict verb-second syntax which would account for the disappearance of *en* but this of course needs investigation.(20)

An interesting situation exists in Flemish a southern dialect west of Brabantish. It appears from the articles listed above that *en* is best preserved in the Flemish dialects. A recent study by Debrabandere (1976) reveals variation today among dialects with regard the verb-second constraint. Debrabandere's findings indicate that Flemish even today does not show a strict verb-second constraint. If it is the case, as maintained here, that the grammaticalization of a strict verb-second order (and other word order patterns) has brought about the demise of the preverbal negative particle then it is not surprising that Flemish which readily allows violation of verb-second order would retain the

use of embracing negation.(21)

Parallel developments in French have direct bearing here since the question of French influence on Flemish is a strong possibility. The question may well be asked why French has retained embracing negation for so long and only now is showing signs of losing it in favour of single postverbal *pas* (Ashby 1976). French was never a TVX language with the strict verb-second constraint but a Post-Topic language and has developed into an SVO language different from English in that it allows unstressed direct and indirect object pronouns to intervene between the subject and its verb (cf. diagram footnote 19). The preservation of the preverbal negative particle in French then is wholly explicable in the light of the above discussion. There has existed no pressure, as existed for Germanic TVX languages, for the negative particle to delete since there was no rule in the language which said the verb must appear in second position (cf. Harris 1976, 1978 for his reasons for the deletion of *ne* today).

It is clear that embracing negation can in no way be described as a feature of TVX verb-second languages as Vennemann maintains. It has been shown above that internal structural pressure brought to bear by such word order constraints like the verb-second constraint resulting from the grammaticalization of the word order system of the language has necessitated the transference from preverbal to postverbal negation. Precisely those dialects which have no such constraint; i.e. which are not strictly TVX, retain the preverbal negative marker. Vennemann's claim is disproved by both the Dutch dialects of the north and the south.

7.35 Another typological approach

Having criticised Vennemann for his typological account I want to now attempt what may at first seem like an about face, and suggest that it is in fact possible to view these changes as a part of a typological schema but of a different sort. I appeal here once more to the ideas contained within J. Haiman's *Targets and Syntactic Change* (1974).

In Chapter 6, we discussed at some length Haiman's work in connection with the emergence of the verb-second constraint in Dutch and the subsequent loss of various topic-prominent structures such as impersonal

verb expressions. For convenience, though, I will briefly repeat his arguments here.

Haiman investigates a claim made by Perlmutter (1971) as to a possible historical change from languages without obligatory surface subjects (Type A) to languages with obligatory surface subjects (Type B). Type A languages, Haiman claims, must possess five properties. I will only summarize these below since they are not of central importance to the discussion here. Haiman views the verb position as a kind of 'conspiracy' to bring about a 'target' surface word order, namely verb-second. The following five properties then are innovations introduced into these languages to ensure the correct verb-second structure.

i) obligatory personal pronoun subjects.
ii) obligatory subjects for impersonal verbs (e.g. weather verbs)
iii) special 'dummy' indefinite pronoun subjects (e.g. *men* in Dutch)
iv) obligatory 'dummy' subjects to replace extraposed sentences.
v) 'dummy' subject slot fillers (e.g. *er* Dutch and *es* German).

I propose that one more feature can be added to this list as being characteristic of Type A languages; namely, that of postverbal negation. Like the five other features it can be shown to have arisen in the language as a consequence of the verb-second constraint.

Haiman's ideas present a way in which typological consistency can in fact play a causal role in syntactic change, in a way which is different from Vennemann's attempt. Harris (1982a) makes a similar claim when he views the rise of subject pronouns in French as a means of ensuring the correct position of the verb. We have seen here that the grammaticalization of word order (verb-initial for imperatives, interrogatives and conditionals, verb-second for declarative main clauses) could not have been implemented in Dutch without changes like those which have taken place in the negative construction. Like Harris' explanation for the rise of subject pronouns in French, such changes as these in Dutch have come about from internal pressure in the language to conform to its type - TVX. Harris suggests this is what is implied by Smith (1981:52) when he writes that "internal coherence of consistency might conceivably effect some pressure for language change".

7.4 Conclusion

We can illustrate the arguments presented here by referring again to the useful analogy devised by T. Givón (1977:187). If the transference of the negative particle from preverbal to postverbal position via embracing negation is likened to a *journey* undertaken, the pragmatic unmarking of emphatic negative construction (i.e. Jespersen's account) as the *vehicle* used and perhaps the change from Type B to Type A as the *driver*, then the *motivation* for the journey could be viewed as the gradual grammaticalization of the word order system. The changes in negation can be seen to be motivated by internal pressure in the language brought to bear by the need for the language to conform to its TVX type - to ensure, in other words that the verb-second constraint is maintained. From comments made by Harris in his 1982a paper, I have suggested that this also is an instance whereby typological change may be viewed as the explanation for certain related syntactic changes. This is not in the sense of the ususal typological explanation whereby changes are purported to be explained simply if they can be shown to promote typological consistency. What we have here is an example of "consistency (or a tendency towards consistency) as an explanatory principle in its own right" (Smith 1981:51). If this is true then we have an instance, as Harris suggests, of what has been referred to by Lightfoot (1979) as "pure syntactic change".

Only the question concerning changes in Dutch negation has been dealt with in any detail here. But it has been suggested that other diachronic developments, so far only superficially connected under the loose concept of 'drift', are indeed linked and can be accounted for by overall changes in the word order of the language by appealing to an internal structural constraint on the positioning of the verb. The five properties discussed by Haiman, and the disappearance of various topic-prominent structures listed in Chapter 6 are cases in point. These represent changes which have occurred in Dutch to ensure the correct position of the verb. Of course, what remains to be discussed are the causes for the *initial* change in verb position. We return to this question in Chapter 8.

Before leaving negation, however, it remains to discuss developments in other Germanic languages to see whether claims made here are supported.

7.5 Some observations on the development of negation in other Germanic languages

As yet there has been no equivalent study made of the development of negation in any of the other Germanic languages, although it is clear that they all have at some stage in their history shown the same transference of the negative function from a preverbal to postverbal particle via a period of embracing negation. All languages share a cognate preverbal negator (Old High German *ni*, Old English *ne*, Old Norse *ne* for example) and the postverbal negators, although independently motivated in each language, share a parallel analysis. All respective post-verbal negators have developed from what Vennemann (1974:378) has termed "an accusative of smallest measure" - Scandinavian *eigi* 'not' < *ne aiw-gi* 'not ever', *ekki* 'nothing' < *ne ain-gi* 'not anything', German *nicht* 'not' < *ni iowight* 'not anything', English *not* < *nowiht* 'no small thing'. These were all at one time strengthening negators used together with the preverbal negator in cases of emphasis before they came to be used alone as the marker of general negation (cf. footnote 16 for discussion of this).

It appears that for the Scandinavian languages this whole process; namely, 'Jespersen's Cycle', was completed at a much earlier date. In fact as early as 600 the preverbal negator had been replaced by postverbal *icke* in Norwegian and Danish and by *inte* in Swedish (cf. Jespersen 1917:Chapter 1 and Van der Horst and Van der Wal 1979:23). Lockwood (1968:208) writes that in German *nicht* had eliminated the old preverbal negative particle by 1300. But even during the 13th century its distribution was limited to a small group of common usage verbs and some special constructions as we saw in Section 1 was also the case for *ne/en/n* in Middle Dutch (cf. also Paul 1959:236-238 on the development of negation in German). Traugott (1972:147) states that Chaucer used embracing negation as the unemphatic construction (*ne...nat/not*), and also *nat/not* independently. Jespersen (1917:9) writes that exclusive use of *not* was reached by the 15th century.

Without detailed analyses of these parallel developments, it is difficult to see whether or not they support the explanation proffered here with regards the question of Dutch negation.
From descriptions based on impressions and only on vague dates, without

reliable statistical evidence such as we have for Dutch, it is impossible to draw any definite conclusions. But at least from a superficial glance at the syntactic development of these languages it seems that the facts do support the claims made here.

J.R. Smith's dissertation of 1971 *Word Order in the Older Germanic Dialects* concludes that all Germanic languages by 600 showed verb-second order as the most expected word order for simple declarative sentences. In his data on Scandinavian languages this tendency was the strongest. Comments made in Bean (1983) and Haugen (1976) confirm this. By 600 Scandinavian had strict verb-second neutral order with verb-initial as a marked alternative order. If the claim made here is plausible, namely, that constraints imposed by the position of the verb can bring about the demise of such elements as the preverbal negator, then it is fitting that the Scandinavian languages should have abandoned *ne* around the time of 600.

From discussion in Bean (1983), Lockwood (1968) and Vennemann (1974) it seems that Old High German was overwhelmingly verb-second although it did allow light elements, topical pronoun objects and adverbs, to intervene between the initial element and the following finite verb (i.e. Post-Topic TVX). The language does not seem to have acquired strict verb-second syntax until early Middle High German which would coincide with the disappearance of the preverbal negator.

English poses more of a problem. From Bean's study of Old English word order there seems to be some doubt as to whether English ever did have a strict verb-second order. If it did it was very early (about 1000) and certainly short-lived in comparison to other Germanic languages (cf. Gerritsen 1982bfor discussion of this). From the 11th century onwards SVO (verb-third) syntax began to establish itself as the normal unmarked order for simple declarative sentences (TVX order relics still found in a few construction types such as those with initial negative adverbs *never, scarcely, hardly* etc..). But the preverbal negator persisted in the language until the 15th century. It seems that during Old English preverbal negative *ne* occurred most commonly with VSX syntax which would be one way of preserving verb-second order without deleting *ne*. But it is puzzling why the preverbal negator persisted so long in English, normally the least conservative of the Germanic languages. Gerritsen (1982b) presents an interesting argument in which she attributes

the disappearance of the verb-second constraint and the early stabilization of verb-third order in Middle English to the possible creolization of Old English as a result of the Norman Conquest (1066-1200) (Scandinavian influence from early invasions also playing a possible part). From work she cites which has been carried out on creoles and on the creole character of Middle English it seems a plausible argument. Could it be, then, that the retention of embracing negation in Middle English is a direct result of this creolization, since embracing negation was most certainly a feature of Norman French? But even if this is a viable argument it is still only a partial explanation since it remains to be explained why *ne* ultimately disappeared from Middle English. But as English had developed into an SVO language which unlike French did not permit elements to appear between the subject and its verb (cf. earlier discussion section 7.34) it may be that French influence could delay the disappearance of *ne* but structural pressure from strict subject-verb contiguous order eventually forced it out of the language.

Needless to say observations made here must be backed by detailed investigations of the syntactic development of each of these languages. More useful here is to look at some relatively recent developments in these languages which could be viewed as an attempt to return in part to a preverbal placement of the negator. As Dahl's study (1979) showed us, postverbal negation is rare among the world's languages. In fact, it is confined largely to the Germanic languages and some West African languages of the Niger Congo family. As both Jespersen and Dahl suggest, there appears to be something natural about the preverbal placement of the negative particle (Dahl pp.96-97 gives evidence from child language learning and second language learning to support this). And certainly there exists an inconsistency in the Germanic languages which places the negator *before* the item negated in constituent negation but *after* the verb in sentence negation.

I maintain that all these Modern Germanic languages now show devices in their syntax which will ensure that the respective negators normally appear, if not before the finite verb, then at least before the non-finite main verb. This could be seen as an attempt by these languages to overcome in part the difficulties which arise from postverbal negation (cf. Jespersen 1917:Chapter 1) and return to a situation which

is more typologically usual.

It was during Middle English that the language developed a new auxiliary *do*, one use of which was purely as a 'dummy' element to carry the tense in any construction. The origin of *do*, anyway a matter of dispute, is not of concern here. More of interest is the fact that at this time a negative sentence could be expressed two ways (Traugott 1972:186).

i) subject auxiliary *not* verb
ii) subject verb *not*

Do-support in negative sentences was optional at this stage, and according to Traugott both (i) and (ii) were available to speakers of English until 1900 when only (i) was used. The introduction of mandatory *do*-support in negative sentences is a development in English which ensures that the negator will be placed in a position before the main verb of the sentence.

As we have discussed at length in Chapter 5, both Modern German and Dutch syntax preserves the sentence brace construction (*Satzklammer*, *Einklammerung* in German, *Embraciation* in English). For convenience, I will give again some examples from Modern Dutch to illustrate the two kinds of embraciation found in main and subordinate clauses in both these languages.

(i) a. ik *heb* een nieuwe auto *gekocht*.
'I have bought a new car'
b. Wij *moeten* een nieuwe auto *kopen*.
'We must buy a new car'

(ii) a. Hij zegt *dat* hij niet *komt*.
'He says he isn't coming'
b. Hij zegt *dat* hij het niet *kon doen* (*doen kon*).
'He says he can't do it'

In the examples under (i) the finite verb appears in obligatory second position and the non-finite verb appears sentence-finally forming a brace around the other sentence constituents. Examples (ii) are of two subordinate clauses where the finite verb in these languages appears in sentence final position and with the conjunction forms a brace around all other constituents. Note that two orders are possible for compound

verb structures in Dutch. In German only the order given in brackets is acceptable.

What then has embraciation to do with the discussion on negation here? In both Dutch and German the brace construction has the effect that in most main clauses (and in these languages periphrastic tense constructions are more common than those with simple tenses) the negative element will appear before the main verb of the sentence and in dependent clauses always before the finite verb (those elements which can appear outside the brace need not concern us here - they never include the negative marker). This may seem trivial if it weren't for evidence from Scandinavian. Haugen (1976:311; cf. also Dahl 1979:95) writes that during Middle Scandinavian (1050-1350) negative and certain other adverbial elements came to be placed between the subject and verb in subordinate clauses (note that unlike German and Dutch the verb was not placed finally in these clauses).

Jak vil at þu *ey* skalt ganga
I want that you neg shall go 'I want you not to go'

During earlier Common Scandinavian (550-1050), however, the normal placement for these elements was after the finite verb. By 1500 41% of clauses were ordered so (i.e. with preverbal placement of simple adverbs) and by modern times it was established firmly in Danish, Norwegian and Swedish (note not in Icelandic).

Norwegian Han sa at det *ikke* var sant
he said that it neg was true 'He said it wasn't true'

Similarly in main clauses these modern Scandinavian languages show partial embraciation in construction with the negative element and also some simple adverbs.

Norwegian Han har(hadde) *ikke* visst
he has(had) neg known 'He has/had not known'

Except with regard to these negative and few adverbial elements, modern Scandinavian like English has no embraciation. In subordinate clauses this means the negator will precede the finite verb and will at least precede the main verb in main clauses. These Scandinavian languages, like Modern Dutch and German, still have strict verb-second syntax, the original conditioning for the loss of the preverbal negator. This then would block a complete reintroduction of preverbal negation, which would

be possible in English. But with respect to English another development seems more likely. As *not* is reduced in normal unemphatic speech to *n't* and even to zero in certain combinations like the following -

it can't be done [ɪt ka:mbi dʌn]
don't be silly [dovmbi sɪli]

and with the appearance of forms like *don't* and *ain't* with no longer any distinction in person and number, it may be argued that English is developing a negative auxiliary, something of the type which Finnish has.

7.6 Further evidence

After this present study had been completed, Marinel Gerritsen drew my attention to another, but much shorter study on Middle Dutch negation written by De Meersman (1980b). Since I was not able to include it in the main body of this text, I conclude with just a brief consideration of some of the more interesting points which De Meersmans's results reveal.

De Meersman takes a number of random samples from several non-literary texts which, for the most part, seem to be West Flemish in origin. Particularly striking are his results from the 14th century. Although they coincide more or less with the results here for main declarative clauses, remarkable differences occur with respect to subordinate clauses. Texts from each region, Bruges, Ieper, Male and Rijsel, show 100% single negation for subordinate clauses, and the figures for Gent are also high - 88%. In addition, the overall results for conjunctionless conditionals (imperatives and questions are not mentioned) show a higher preference for single negation than the texts here of the same time. When the results for all the regions are combined, the percentage figure is as high as 88% single negation for these clause types. Although this is higher than the figures for either of dialects here, the difference is perhaps not so striking since Type 3 clauses here do show a rapidly increasing preference for single negation (and, at least with respect to Hollandish, percentage figures are in the high 70's - Brabantish figures can be seen to lag somewhat behind). The marked difference does, though, lie in the subordinate clause results, since both the dialects here show only a very low preference for single negation.

While one might expect some fluctuation between texts, De Meersman's unusually high results are puzzling. Without the texts at hand, it of course impossible to say for sure, but I would not be surprised if these results are attributable to the sort of cliticization process which we discussed earlier was responsible for much of the deletion of the preverbal negator *ne* in subordinate clauses (since his texts are reported speech, this would seem even more probable). Since De Meersman's results for main clauses are quite in keeping with those here (and in Van der Horst's and Van der Wal's study), this would suggest that there are conditioning factors at work which are either peculiar to or at least much stronger in subordinate clauses. I do not believe that De Meersman's results reflect genuine differences between Flemish and the two dialects examined here, since of the three, it is the Flemish dialect which preserves double negation in the modern language.

Nonetheless, De Meersman does offer results from another West Flemish text of the 15th century (second half?) which show the same results - 87% single negation in subordinate clauses (although admittedly the sample is rather small - 13/15). More texts must be studied from this region to see to what extent De Meersman's results are representative. It is also quite probable that his findings reflect other factors which have not been considered here. For example, it is quite possible that stylistic factors are at work. But a much more systematic study is needed.

7.7. The constituent status of the negative particle

The position presented here is that the deletion of the negative particle in Middle Dutch and its ultimate disappearance from the language is triggered by constraints on the position of the verb, like the verb-second rule for main clauses. Crucial to this position is obviously the acceptance of the preverbal negator *en/ne* as an independent constituent of the sentence. In a recent article, however, De Haan and Weerman (1983) refute this analysis and, therefore, refute the particular explanation offered for the loss of *en/ne*. Since the preverbal negator does not have independent syntactic status, the explanation must, therefore, be invalid.

Let us firstly examine their arguments against the independent status of *en/ne*. Firstly, they point out that *en/ne* is entirely dependent upon the position of the finite verb. It must stand immediately before it at all

times. Secondly, De Haan and Weerman claim that *en/ne* can appear where no independent element can; namely, within the verbal complex. They provide the following example -

36. ...dattie hersenen niet *uut lopen en mochten*
'...so that the brains do not spill out' (p.19)

In addition, only *en/ne* can intervene between a separable prefix and its verb in subordinate clauses, for which they give the following example -

37. dinghe die hem niet *toe en hoerden*
'things which did not belong to him' (p.19)

Before we consider the alternative analysis offered by De Haan and Weerman, I will say a brief few words on the above three points. While I admit the apparent restricted distribution of *en/ne* is reminiscent of clitic- or affix-like behaviour, I am not convinced that this is proof positive against the analysis of these items as independent elements. For one, Dahl's (1979) study has confirmed a universal tendency in the world's languages for the negator to occupy a fixed position, and with a striking preference, as we have already discussed, for preverbal position. This tendency is particularly strong for uninflecting negative particles while morphological negation shows a preference for postverbal position. The preverbal negator in Middle Dutch, then, is in direct accordance with this universal tendency. Secondly, I hope to show below that the distribution of *en/ne* is, in fact, not as limited as De Haan and Weerman claim.

With respect to their second argument, we have seen in Chapter 5 that, while contiguous order within the verbal complex is more usual, it is still not uncommon to find other elements, such as objects and adverbials, intervening between the finite and non-finite verb parts. To illustrate I give the following two examples from the texts here.

38. Recipe .ij. of .iij. stoppen nae dat ghy *maken woel of luttle wylt*
'Recipe - 2 or 3 measures according to whether you want to make a lot or a little (Ho. 1500)

39. Is oeck dat sake dat wi metten tween jersten instrumenten niet en *connen die siecheit verdriven* soe moeten wi metten derden werken
'If it is also the case that we can not drive away the sickness with the two first instruments, then we must work with the third' (Br. 1350)

With respect to the third argument, however, I have to admit I have found no counter-evidence. It does seem that only the preverbal negator can intervene between a verb and its separable prefix.

For reasons which we need not enumerate here, De Haan and Weerman conclude that the *en/ne* particle in Middle Dutch is a special clitic, and a special clitic of a slightly unusual sort; namely, one which is bound syntactically to the verb, but which is at the same time bound phonologically to the word preceding it. This analysis is based on Klavans (1980) schema, which was contrived to accommodate the pronominal clitics of Ngancara, an Australian aboriginal language. These pronominal clitics are located before the final word in the sentence (usually the verb) but are phonologically attached to the word preceding. These clitics, then, are described as having a different syntactic 'locus' from its phonological 'host' (cf. Pullum and Zwicky 1982:16). I might add, though, that *en/ne* does not have to attach itself to any preceding element since it can itself appear sentence initially; i.e. it does not need a phonological host.

To conclude, De Haan and Weerman state -

> "Als het zo is dat in een stadium waarin *en* alleen ontkenner was (een stadium van het Nederlands waarvan we geen schriftelijke overlevering hebben), dit *en* ook een eenheid vormde met de persoonsvorm zoals later in het Middelnederlands, dan zou men syntactisch gezien de overgang van *en* naar *en ... niet* naar *niet* kunnen karakteriseren als de overgang van een affix-negatiesysteem naar een adverbial-negatiesysteem" (p.23)
>
> ('If it is the case that, at a time when *en* was the only negator (a time of Dutch for which we have no written tradition), this *en* also formed a unit with the finite verb just as later in Middle Dutch, then, syntactically viewed, one can characterize the transition from *en* to *en ... niet* to *niet* as the transition from an affixal system of negation to an adverbial system of negation')

On the surface, this is an intuitively appealing analysis, and one which captures the 'drift' to increased analycity in the language. But let us first examine more closely the early stages of *ne*, not only in Dutch, but in related Germanic languages also.

Clearly, this element does possess analytic difficulties as can be seen in the rather vague descriptions which are offered in the literature.

Smith (1971), for example, in his study of the older Germanic dialects, does not count negative elements as clausal constituents, for reasons which he does not attempt to explain. Canale (1978) suggests that Old English *ne* is proclitic to the verb. Like Traugott (1972:107) he allows negative *ne* to intervene between a sentence initial element and the verb, still classifying the clause as verb-second. Similarly, Bean's (1983) VSX category for Old English also includes Neg-VSX clauses. Regarding these clauses, Smith makes an apparent about-face and, curiously considering his above position, insists that initial negators have the same function as any other stressed initial adverbial. This implies that in initial position he regards them as having constituent status. Why this should be so when they do not in other positions escapes me. Even Van der Horst (1981a:41) denies the Middle Dutch preverbal negator independent status - "... en het ontkennende partikel *ne (en)* ... omdat het niet de plaats van een zinsdeel inneemt ... zullen ... buiten beschouwing gehouden worden" ('... and the negating particle *ne (en)*, because it does not occupy the position of a sentence element, should not be taken into consideration').
His statement here is curious in the light of his earlier paper with Van der Wal (1979) on the development of negation in Dutch, for there he presents a similar line of argument as presented here; namely, that the preverbal negator dropped out of use precisely because it violated the emerging word order constraints. Here I must agree with De Haan and Weerman - if the preverbal negator does not have independent status, then surely it can appear in any position without conflicting with the order of the verb.

What support, then do I have for analysing *ne* as an independent constituent? As I see it, the difficulty of analysing *ne* comes about because the item is itself in a state of flux. With respect to Old Dutch, there can be *no* doubt that the item was an independent element. At this time *ne* enjoyed a much wider distribution. It could occur freely with any element which could potentially carry negation, and relics of this earlier freedom remain in the various negative-incorporated forms in Middle Dutch - *nemmer, nergens, niemant, niets* etc... In fact in Middle Dutch, *ne* in this capacity can still appear before the demonstrative *ghene*. It seems, then, that De Haan and Weerman's proposed development from morphological (or affixal) negation to syntactic negation (i.e.

expressed by independent particles) is not valid. There is plenty of evidence, both comparative and internal, that the negator in Old Dutch was an independent negative adverb with a similar range of positions as the Modern Dutch negator *niet*.

What has clearly happended, then, is that from the period of Old Dutch its distribution has become more and more restricted, its functions (such as constituent or special negation) gradually being taken over by *niet*; i.e. totally in accordance with what is predicted by Jespersen's (1917) account. What I am arguing here is that this whole process is motivated by the fixing of certain word order constraints in the language, primarily the verb-second rule. It seems fairly sure that these changes in the word order were already well underway in Old Dutch. Smith (1971) for example, reports that verb-second in all the dialects he investigated must have been the dominant main clause word order pattern as early as 600. And we have no reason to suspect this might be otherwise for Dutch. With this in mind two possibilities were open to the preverbal negator in Old Dutch -

1. It could delete in those environments where it otherwise violated the constraints and eventually drop from the language.
2. It could be reanalysed as part of the verb, either as a clitic or as an affix.

I have argued that (1) was the solution adopted. But there is plenty of evidence to suggest that, in fact, both (1) and (2) worked simultaneously towards the destruction of *ne*. And it seems that at least in Flemish (2) rather than (1) was the final outcome.

We have seen earlier that *ne* in most positions must have been unstressed, which made it possible for the various negative-incorporated forms to develop. This also meant that in preverbal position *ne* often appeared in reduced form. These reduced forms, or simple clitics, together with the increasingly restricted distribution of *ne* (it eventually even disappeared before *ghene*) could represent the beginning of the reanalysis of *ne* as special clitic. But the constraints accompanying the grammaticalization of word order forced the negator out of the language before this process could be completed. In modern-day Flemish, however, the surviving preverbal negator is clitic-like, in fact all indications are

that it is developing into a verbal prefix. We have already discussed the fact that Flemish, like French, developed into a Post-Topic TVX language (i.e. without V/2 constraint) and now into an SVX language which, unlike English, allows intervening clitic-like elements between the subject and its verb, in the same way as French does. A relatively recent article by Koelmans (1967) cites two interesting examples which definitely suggest a reanalysis of *ne/en* as a verbal prefix. These examples have been given in footnote 21, but I will repeat them here for convenience. In both sentences the negator *en* appears before the non-finite verb forms, and *not* as you would expect, before the finite verbs *hef* and *ga*.

40. Hee hef 't *neet en* edoene
    'He hasn't done it'

41. Ga je vandaag *niet en* kaarten?
    'Aren't you going to play cards today?'

Certainly, a more systematic study of the Flemish situation is needed before one can say for sure what the status of *en* is in the language. But the above two examples do point to some sort of reanalysis taking place. So throughout the history of Dutch the preverbal negator has developed from an independent word (with simple clitic variants), to special clitic, and now in Flemish to prefix. In Modern Standard Dutch it is preserved fossilized in certain expressions (*tenzij*, for example) and in the various negative-incorporated forms.

The severely restricted distribution of *en/ne* and its apparent clitic-like behaviour, I do not see as counter-evidence for the claims made here. But rather can they be seen as symptomatic of the general decline of this item, the reasons for which I still maintain lie in the overall changes in the word order of the language. The seeds of the destruction of *en/ne* were already sown in Old Dutch when it had full independent status. From that time on it becomes more and more reduced in both function and form.

FOOTNOTES

1. As Van der Horst and Van der Wal point out, the term 'embracing negation' (Vennemann 1974) more accurately describes the phenomenon best known in French (*Je ne fume pas* 'I don't smoke) than does the ambiguous term 'double negation'. As it is not appropriate when dealing with subordinate clauses in Dutch (the verb-final character of these clauses destroys the brace structure of this sort of negation) they suggest an alternative term 'tweeledige ontkenning' ('two-part negation'). But as 'embracing negation' has come to be the usual term for this in the literature it will be the term which is used here.

2. No environment could be found which could be said to condition the appearance of any one of these forms *ne/en/n*, although it seems plausible that *ne*, the full form, would be used in cases of emphasis. Preference for one form or another does appear to be dialect . The dialect of Gent for example, although not examined here, does use *ne* more frequently than other dialects.

3. More obvious examples of expressions containing fossilized archaic constructions are the modern standard Dutch *tenzij* and the Flemish equivalent *tenware*, which both have the meaning 'unless'. They preserve the preverbal negator before the verb 'to be' and with the third person neuter pronoun as the subject - *het en si/ware*. Similarly, expressions like *Ik en weet* 'I don't know' function as a kind of stock sentence opener which could explain why this phrase in particular resists so successfully the deletion of the preverbal negator. Even the later prose of the Hollander P.C.Hooft where 100% negation with single post-verbal *niet* was recorded contained the phrase *Ik en weet wat denken* (I don't know what to think).

4. Van der Horst (1981a:51) does give several examples where the first clause is a positive one, but it is more usual to find a negated first clause.

5. If for example the English phrase 'she is richer than you think' is rephrased to 'you do not think she is as rich as she really is' then the Middle Dutch use of redundant negation after comparatives

like the Modern French use (*elle est plus riche que vous ne croyez*) is easier to comprehend (cf. Jespersen 1917:37).

6. *Cumulative negation* (Jespersen 1917:66) or what is usually referred to as *multiple negation*, where negative expressions are repeated throughout an utterance, was also common in Middle Dutch. For example -

   Maer ic *en* vinder *niet* af in *gheenen* boeken
   but I neg find-there nothing of in no books
   'But I don't find anything about it in any books' (Scellinck 1350)

7. Jespersen 1917 in Chapter 5 uses the terms *special* and *nexal* negation to refer to constituent and sentence negation respectively.

8. Cf. Jespersen 1917, Hirt 1937 and Dahl 1979 for discussion of this. Van der Horst and Van der Wal do state in footnote 8 (p.11) that the few examples of constituent negation in their data could be due to the fact that some cases of constituent negation do in fact appear with a preverbal negator although they admit that runs counter to their conclusions.

9. Van der Horst (personal communication) argues, nonetheless, in defense of poetry as a source for syntactic study. He suggests that the structures peculiar to poetry are not the result of rhyming and rhythmic constraints, but rather the fact that poetry represents an older form of the language as handed down for centuries by the oral tradition. In fact, he suggests that in at least one respect it is possible that prose is *less* representative of natural language at this time. While poetry rests on an oral tradition, prose has only Latin models on which to base itself. With respect to the study of negation, however, Van der Horst maintains that the choice of either prose or poetry makes no difference to the final outcome (a position which is also supported by Stoops (1971) in her study of negation in the works of Willem Ogier (1618-1689) - "Even onwaarschijnlijk is het, dat het gebruik van alexandrijnen in de latere werken het gebruik van de *en*-negatie beinvloed heeft: het aantal lettergrepen heeft natuurlijk belang, maar ligt het niet voor de hand, dat er procentueel dezelfde kans bestaat dat

een dichter "een lettergreep te veel" als "een lettergreep te weinig" heeft?", p.148). Nonetheless, the fact remains that, though our results are similar, as will be obvious from the discussion below, they also differ in significant respects. Van der Horst does point out, though,that until the difference between prose and poetry is systematically investigated, it is unreasonable to chose only prose for the study of early syntactic systems. And I would certainly agree. As discussed in Chapter 3, a complete study should take into account all styles, including the various styles of prose. Unfortunately, practicality meant that this was not possible here, although I admit it is a shortcoming. And in no way would I deny the usefulness of poetry for syntactic study. Poetic usage, like legal language, in being of a specialized context, can preserve forms which have otherwise disappeared from the language, and for this reason such specialized styles can be extremely useful - but to be used with caution. Like the texts chosen here, it is possible to chose non-literary informal prose where the influence from Latin is minimal. These, I feel sure, must reflect more closely the spoken idiom of the day. And I remain of the opinion, that you simply can not escape the constraints imposed by considerations of rhyme and rhythm and other poetic conventions.

10. These are the clause types distinguished in the study by Van der Horst and Van der Wal, although they further distinguish in main declarative clauses those beginning with the subject (SVO) and those beginning with some constituent other than the subject and therefore requiring inversion of the subject and its verb (TVX). Type 3 clauses here they referred to as verb-initial clauses. But since neither fixed verb-initial order for these clauses, nor strict inversion after a fronted topic in main clauses were rules in language until the 17th century it is not clear whether they included in their sample those clauses with deviating word order. Since early Middle Dutch had such flexible word order it is only possible to talk of a dominant word order pattern for each clause type.

11. Early 13th century prose work by Hadewijch was also examined. It showed only one exception in otherwise 100% embracing negation

for all clause types (this exception was even 'corrected' by the editor in a footnote and rewritten as embracing negation!). The 15th century legal texts were included separately in Table 3 since they cover a wider time span. These were the only documents found suitable for 15th century Brabantish. Although it would be desirable to have more such texts, it is not crucial to the final outcome of this study. Statistics found for the other periods of time make obvious existing trends.

12. The method adopted here is in direct conflict with that of Van der Horst and Van der Wal. Such examples with potential enclitic forms they treat as instances of double negation.

> "We vermelden tenslotte nog dat we in zinnen als:
>
> *waer ic metter helft ghevaen*
> *men liete mi niet ontgaen* (*Karel ende Elegast* 561/2)
>
> waar het enkele *niet* in de hoofdzin lijkt voor te komen, steeds *men* als een enclitische vorm (*men* = *men en*) hebben opgevat. Dit geldt ook voor andere gevallen waarin aan enclisis gedacht kan worden" (p.14)

Whereas sentences like the above (in italics) would here be counted as instances on *en*-deletion (i.e. single postverbal negation), their method dictates that they are examples of double negation. While I admit that it is a problem knowing when and if *en* is 'psychologically' present for speakers in these sort of cases, I feel their method here is unsound. For one, you cannot know if *en* is there, if it is not there in surface structure! While we know the sort of environments which *potentially* trigger such cliticization, any decision as to the presence of *en* in these cases must always be arbitrary.

13. In the Brabantish results of 1350 2 of the 3 subordinate clauses with deletion could also be attributed to similar phonetic conditioning, although it is not strictly clear whether the two *-en* endings are in fact plural endings or negative particles.

> ...alle surginen die *niet* meesteren siin die *niet* phisiken weten...
> all surgeons who neg masters are who neg physiology know
> '...all surgeons who neither are masters nor know physiology...'
> (Scellinck 1350)

14. Stoops (1971) in a study on the type of negation found in work of a southern writer Willem Ogier decided to interpret these doubtful

cases of *en* as instances of the negator, although does state in brackets in the final table of results how many in fact were doubtful. I disagree with this interpretation, however, simply because for the cases where interpretation is clear, and there are enough non-ambiguous examples to be significant, deletion of the preverbal negator in these environments occurs by this time in 100% of the cases and in both dialects.

15. Obviously as *ne/en/n* drops out of use more and more in environments where it could normally appear (i.e. with *niet* for general negation or with any of the other negative-incorporated forms) and as more and more *niet* takes over the function of general negator, so too would one expect such paratactic/pleonastic constructions as described in Section 1 to also become less frequent, which is indeed what happens. In other words, *ne/en/n* comes to be omitted even in expressions where the grammar at one stage required it to appear *without* any other negator. In Modern Dutch this use of *ne/ne/n* is preserved only in the subordinating conjunction *tenzij/ tenware* (cf. footnote 5).

16. Afrikaans shows an interesting development in the negative construction which is relevant here. As the following examples illustrate, Afrikaans has redeveloped double negation whereby a second *nie* is placed sentence finally unless the sentence already ends in a negative particle.

ek kom *nie* na jou to *nie*
I come neg to you to neg
'I am not coming to you'

Negative adverbs can stand in place of the first *nie* -

hy het *niemand* gesien *nie*
he has nobody seen neg
'he hasn't seen anybody' (cf. F.A.Ponelis 1979 *Afrikanse Sintaksis*)

At present I do not know enough about this to account for it. Could it be that the Afrikaans development shows also a strengthening of negation by supporting words similar to that just described? Following the deemphasization of these sentence-final reinforcing elements, this form of double negation has become the neutral expression of negation. In some languages like French these reinforcing

elements have a positive sense (*aucun* 'each', *jamais* 'ever', *pas* 'step') and gain their negative sense from their co-occurrence with the preverbal negator, or they can themselves be negative forms, like the Afrikaans example, and produce a double negative. The Afrikaans development is an interesting one and should be examined. As yet it is not clear whether it is the result of influence from Bantu languages or of internal change since Afrikaans has developed from an essentially southern Dutch dialect which would have had embracing negation at the time.

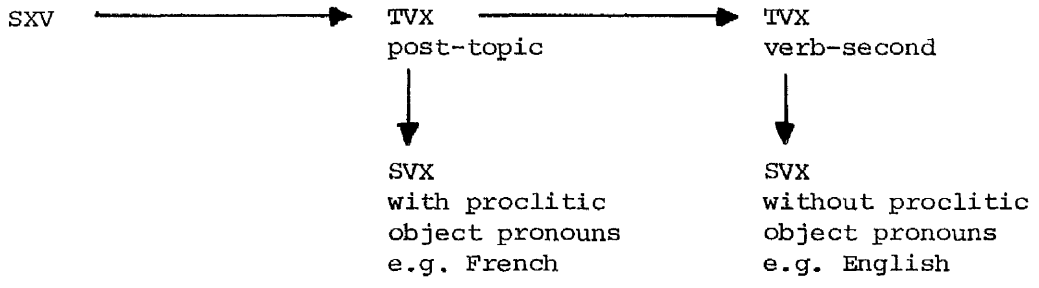
17. Cf. also Miller (1975) "Indo-European: VSO, SOV, SVO, or all three?" (in: *Lingua* 37:38)

> "If the language-type is OV it (he means the negator) will normally precede the verb directly".

Nonetheless, this in direct conflict with what is predicted by Lehmann's structural principle of language (cf. discussion Chapter 2 section 2.5) which would define preverbal negation as characteristic of VO languages, and postverbal negation as characteristic of OV languages. This observation is also made by De Haan and Weerman (1983:23), and De Meersman (1980b:5-6).

18. The SOV-type syntax reconstructed for P-I-E is not taken for granted as Vennemann would have us believe. In fact arguments have been put forward in favour of all word order types (cf. Miller 1975, footnote 17 for example) which itself would seem to speak for the ambivalent word order system of the proto-language. There are great dangers working from a hypothetical reconstructed form (cf. Watkins 1976 and Jeffers 1976 for severe criticism of this approach). More reliable and more useful is to examine actual word order findings, in this case with regard to the history of negation, for those languages for which we have at our disposal a long written tradition.

19. It is perhaps useful to reproduce Vennemann's diagram here to illustrate his word order typology.



(Vennemann 1974:371)

20. Different methodologies make it difficult to compare results here with those from the study carried out by Stoops (1971) on the development of negation in the work of the Brabantish writer Willem Ogier. Nonetheless Stoops' study shows a definite pattern developing which points to a clear decline in the use of *en*. Between Ogier's earlier work of 1644 and a later work of 1678 deletion more than doubles in main clauses and increases by 20% in subordinate clauses. So the same developments we have seen have taken place in Hollandish are in fact taking place in Brabantish only at a later date. The eventual disappearance of *en*, which is virtually the case in modern-day Brabantish, is certainly predicted by the later works of Ogier.

21. Koelmans (1967:18) gives two interesting sentence examples from two modern dialects which show the negative particle *en* not before the finite verb where we would expect it to be, but before the non-finite verb.

    Hee hef 't *neet en* edoene.
    he has it neg neg done 'He hasn't done it'

    Ga je vandaag *niet en* kaarten?
    go you today neg neg to-play-cards
    'Aren't you going card-playing today?'

    He suggests this may imply some sort of reanalysis is taking place in these modern dialects. Because the subordinate clause best retains embracing negation (with the order *niet en*) *niet en* is being interpreted as one negative constituent *nieten*. I suggest a different analysis is also possible; namely, that *en* is developing into a prefix on the main verb. Negation with *en* would then be morphological with the marking prefixed to the main verb. This would account for the position of *en* in the above sentences.

22. Bossuyt (1982), as reported in De Haan and Weerman (1983), also argues against the independent status of *en/ne*.

CHAPTER 8

Concluding Remarks

There were basically two aspects to this present study. The first was philological and aimed at providing a detailed description of the early history of Dutch word order, and related syntactic features, taking into account where possible comparative data from other Germanic languages. Texts were chosen from two dialects, Brabantish and Hollandish, and the time span covered was approximately 350 years (1300-1650). Fortunately, Dutch has a long and flourishing written tradition which made such a research project possible. The second aspect was theoretical and examined the various approaches to syntactic change with the aim of testing the existing hypotheses against the findings here for Dutch. In order to provide the theoretical background for this, Chapter 2 supplied a brief view of the relevant literature on the subject of syntactic change, with emphasis on approaches to word order change and models of word order.

While 350 years is only a relatively short time in the history of any language, this study has nonetheless revealed a number of important changes in the major syntactic patterns of Dutch. Findings here all point to one overall change which has occurred; namely, the gradual grammaticalization of word order. To draw upon Thompson's (1978) useful functional dichotomy for word order, one could say that the time span here represented a small section of a long transition in the language from pragmatic word order (where the placement of the elements was controlled by pragmatic considerations; the old-new distinction, for example) to grammatical word order (where word order functioned syntactically to signal, for example, clause types or the grammatical relations expressed within them). This is by no means an original observation. The same has been suggested, for example, by both Jansen (1980) and Gerritsen (1982a). What this study does provide, however, is the strong empirical support which has until now been lacking. It is useful, then, to summarize some of the developments which have taken place in Dutch and which are indicative of this overall movement towards syntactically functional word order.

Although this study did not offer anything like a systematic investigation of the contextual aspects of Middle Dutch word order, we were still able to observe the important role played by pragmatic factors in the early stages of the language. The quantitative analysis provided here revealed firstly those dominant word order patterns which were the ones to eventually grammaticalize in the language. But of particular interest, however, were those statistically less dominant patterns, for these were relics of the earlier situation when word order was considerably more flexible. Note that I avoid the description 'free word order'. Complete freedom of word order would, as Smith (1971) also notes, imply that no pattern had any meaning whatsoever. All word orders would, accordingly, be equally significant. This was by no means the case. Data here provide ample evidence that the word order of early Dutch was controlled by definite pragmatic factors.

With respect to main declarative clauses, for example, we noted that next to the dominant verb-second order, verb-initial and also verb-final order (comprising all positions further back than second) were by no means rare. Verb-initial was described in Chapter 4 as an expressive and highly marked order which could serve to emphasize the action depicted by the verb. In this function it was characteristic of vivid prose as it still is in modern Scandinavian languages today. As one might expect, it was also used in existential/presentative constructions which served to introduce new material into the discourse. These two functions of verb-initial order are by no means mutually exclusive, since clearly vivid pieces of prose narrative would normally entail the introduction of new information. And of relevance here is also the occurrence of verb-initial order in coordinated clauses beginning with *ende*. Examples such as these lend some support to Smith's (1971:59-137) contention that verb-initial represented a conjunctive order in Proto-Germanic.

Verb-final order also had a definite cohesive function, but linked instead those clauses which were, as Dunbar (1979-10-11) describes, "contextually bound"; i.e. logically dependent on the information contained in other clauses or on the common knowledge of the speaker-hearer for their complete interpretation. For this reason, verb-final clauses tended to signify presupposed information; i.e. information which had previously been mentioned in the discourse or which existed outside the immediate linguistic context but was shared by both

speaker and hearer. Bound clauses could, therefore, include grammatically independent clauses but which were non-assertive and somehow bound to the context (Kuhn 1933, Paul 1920). These were typically main clauses in sequence, and it was not uncommon in the early Middle Dutch texts examined here to find verb-final main clauses headed by the coordinator *ende*. But the clearest examples of the link between verb-final order and these pragmatic factors was to be found in those clauses headed by the conjunction *want*. Unlike its modern reflex (a coordinating conjunction which conditions, therefore, only verb-second order), Middle Dutch *want* could effect either verb-second or verb-final order.
In Chapter 4 the distribution of *want* was examined closely to get a better idea of the pragmatic considerations involved and how they interacted. As might be predicted, a pattern emerged in which it was found that verb-final order occurred consistently in those clauses carrying presupposed, topical material. In this environment, it possessed a strictly causal meaning ('because'), characteristic of a true subordinator. Verb-second *want*-clauses, on the other hand, conveyed a very much weaker causal sense. In fact, at times *want* seemed to express simply a logical relationship between the clauses with very little sense of cause or reason. These verb-second *want*-clauses were, accordingly, characteristically assertive and carried the bulk of new information, often setting the theme for what followed in the discourse. This description of *want* is directly supported by evidence from Old High German as reported in Dunbar (1979:Chapter 5).

Verb-final order was the obvious candidate, then, for subordinate clause order since these clauses characteristically carry old or presupposed information. In no way, however, could this order be described as fixed. In fact, the results of the 14th and 15th centuries indicated that non-verb-final order was definitely on the increase in subordinate clauses. There were three types of non-verb-final order - verb-initial, verb-second and verb-third - and, as might be predicted, all appeared to be motivated by the same notions of assertion and presupposition as discussed above. Those clauses which were capable of carrying the main assertion of the sentence, such as *dat*-complement clauses, showed the greatest, tolerance of non-verb-final order, particularly verb-initial and verb-second orders involving subject-verb inversion which were otherwise quite rare in the other subordinate clauses; that is, with

the exception of if-clauses (headed by *als*) and clauses of comparison (headed by *als/gelijck*). These latter clauses, especially, typically involved presentative constructions where participants were introduced into the discourse for the first time.

In Chapter 5 we described the final placement of the verb in subordinate clauses as an instance of the brace construction (or embraciation). This term is perhaps a little confusing since it is also used to describe the final placement of non-finite verb parts (i.e. past participles and infinitives) in main clauses. As we shall discuss below, however, the brace construction in both main and subordinate clauses is usually assumed to be a relic of an older inherited SOV order. In addition, we saw in Chapter 5 that the main clause brace had the same pragmatic function as the subordinate brace (or verb-final order); namely, as a structure enclosing topical material. Accordingly, the same sort of material which appeared postverbally in subordinate clauses also appeared outside the right-most brace of main clauses; that is, typically non-topical new information. Those main and subordinate clauses which violated the brace (i.e. which placed material outside the brace) were said to be examples of exbraciation. The more assertive the material, then, the more likely its tendency to exbraciate. Results here revealed the following hierarchy of potential exbraciated elements arranged in order of increasing frequency (cf. Dunbar 1979:Chapter 5 for comparative hierarchy for Old High German).

pronouns
subjects
indirect/genitive objects
direct objects
predicates
adverbials

As might be predicted, this hierarchy corresponds closely with a hierarchy of elements arranged in order of *decreasing* topicality. The more topical the material, the more likely it was to appear within the brace. In addition, results here revealed that the greater the ability of a clause to carry new information, the greater its tolerance of exbraciation. The following hierarchy of clauses is arranged in order of increasing tolerance of exbraciation.

relative clauses
adverbial clauses
dat-clauses
main clauses

Within the adverbial clauses, the if-clauses (headed by *als* and *indien*, for example) had the highest rates for exbraciation (including both partial brace or verb-third as well as no brace or verb-initial and verb-second as mentioned above).

The loss of this sort of pragmatic variation in the clauses, the loss of verb-final *ende* and *want* clauses, for example, is indicative of the overall diminishing power of pragmatic factors in the language and its simultaneous transition towards syntactically functional word order. The gradual fixing of word order meant that each clause type no longer had the variety of possible patterns which were at one time available. In addition, the stabilization of grammatical word order, particularly the verb-second rule in main declarative clauses, was accompanied by a number of necessary changes elsewhere in the grammar. In Chapter 6, for example, we examined the ideas contained in Haiman (1974) and saw how they related to Dutch and the findings here. Haiman noted the development of five particular properties in the Germanic languages. These he attributed to the verb-second constraint which existed at some stage in the history of all the Germanic languages (as well as French). Briefly, the five properties are as follows -

i) Obligatory personal pronoun subjects.

ii) Obligatory subjects for impersonal verbs.

iii) Special 'dummy' indefinite pronoun subjects (*men* in Dutch).

iv) Obligatory 'dummy' subjects to signal the presence of extraposed sentences.

v) 'Dummy' subject slot fillers (*er* in Dutch).

We examined the above five properties in the light of the present corpus and found ample evidence to support Haiman's claim that the emergence of verb-second order acted as the trigger for the development of properties (ii), (iv) and (v). It was quite apparent in the data here that the rise of 'dummy' subjects in expressions involving impersonal constructions and extraposed and existential sentences was originally in order to conform to the verb-second rule, (i.e. when a constituent had failed to appear in initial slot to maintain the second position of the verb). Unfortunately, there was no evidence that (i) and (iii) had developed purely to satisfy the verb-second constraint. Personal pronouns were only rarely absent and Middle Dutch has always required an indefinite subject *men*. But since texts start relatively late, this is

not necessarily counter-evidence for Haiman's claims.

In Chapter 7, we discussed a possible sixth property; namely post-verbal negation, which we suggested could be seen to have developed like the above five properties originally as a response to the grammaticalization of word order, in particular the verb-second constraint. A detailed analysis of the text material here revealed that the preverbal negator was gradually omitted from precisely those environments where it would have otherwise violated the emerging strict verb-second order (or the verb-initial order for imperatives, interrogatives or conjunctionless conditionals). Appropriately, subordinate clauses were the last to lose the preverbal negator for there existed no constraints on the positioning of the verb in these clauses to exert pressure on the preverbal negator to delete. An informal analysis of the other Germanic languages was found to support this position. In addition, diverging developments within the different Dutch dialects (principally between the north and the south) with respect to negation could also be accounted for by appealing to this explanation of the grammaticalization of word order. Brabantish, for example, acquired its strict verb-second rule somewhat later than Hollandish, and accordingly, was the last to abandon the preverbal negator. Flemish, on the other hand, for which it seems no such rule ever existed, preserves the preverbal negator today.
Finally, it was argued that changes like (i)-(v) together with the changes in the negative construction represented instances of what Lightfoot (1979) describes as "pure syntactic change" (just as Harris 1982a argued in his explanation for the rise of subject pronouns in French); that is, these changes came about in the language from internal pressure to conform to the constraints imposed by grammaticalization of its word order patterns.

Part of this general movement away from the pragmatic control of word order was the gradual drift towards greater subject-prominence in the language (i.e. in the sense of Li and Thompson 1976). In Chapter 6 we suggested that the present corpus had features characteristic of both subject- and topic-prominence. We examined a number of what at first appeared to be unrelated grammatical properties of Middle Dutch but which we then showed could be seen to follow from the same basic principle of sentence organization. All formed part of a then productive

syntactic system in the language which gave rise to sentence types in which the topic-comment distinction, rather than the subject-predicate distinction formed the basic structure. With respect to Li and Thompson's typological schema which places languages along a continuum of relative subject- and topic-prominence, data here suggested that Middle Dutch represented a stage in which *both* the topic and the subject played key roles in the organization of sentences. Characteristics of the language at this time which support this analysis are the following -

i) Inconsistent signalling of the grammatical subject.

ii) Surface-coding of the topic.

iii) Both subject and topic control of coreferential deletion.

iv) Double-subjects 'Chinese-style' and similar constructions in which the topic-comment structure rather than the subject-predicate structure was basic.

The loss of topic-prominence was linked directly with the stabilization of fixed verb-second order in the language. The rise of 'dummy' subjects as discussed above meant that even in sentences where there was no lexical subject, a grammatical subject was always present. Double-subjects and other topic-comment structures were no longer possible because they violated the verb-second order, as did the use of the various topic markers all available at one time in Dutch (cf. Jansen 1980). In addition, topic control of coreferential deletion was no longer grammatical. Just as in English, the gapped or missing element can now be interpreted as anaphoric to a preceding full noun phrase only if it has the same grammatical function. A gapped subject, therefore, can only refer back to an earlier subject, and not simply an object topic as it was able to do in Middle Dutch. Until this time, one could well describe Dutch as Jansen (1980) has done; namely, as a "moderate verb-second language". Alternatively, one could still classify it as a TVX language, but with the important distinction of being a "verb-after-topics" type and *not* the verb-second type (Vennemann 1974:361). Such a language would allow more than one topic to precede the verb (just as Dutch at this time permitted these double-subjects and other constructions which we discussed in Chapter 4 as involving double topicalization). It would also allow light elements to intervene between the subject and its verb (just as French allows

pronominal objects in this position, and as Middle Dutch did the negative particle and these few topic markers). If the language went on to develop a verb-second rule, we would expect these elements to either become clitics, or affixes, or else drop out entirely as was the case with Dutch. As mentioned in Chapter 7, this alternative TVX language which Vennemann first distinguished is usually forgotten, it seems by Vennemann himself, and TVX is normally considered to be synonymous with verb-second.

Lehmann(1976) argues that Proto-Indo-European was a topic-prominent language. If this is correct, then the development of Middle Dutch suggests that languages move towards subject-prominence via a stage of both subject- and topic-prominence, and *not*, as Li and Thompson's schema suggests, via a stage of neither subject- nor topic-prominence (although, as we discussed, Li and Thompson's account of these two transition stages is so vague that it is not entirely clear what differences exist between them, if any exist at all).

Although mentioned only briefly, it was noted that Dutch developed a number of so-called 'structure-preserving transformations' which captured the same pragmatic distinctions as the earlier variation in word order patterns, but which ensured that the verb-second structure was maintained (the growing importance of cleft and pseudo-cleft constructions, together with increased passivization, for example). And the increase of passivization is indicative also of greater subject-prominence in the language. Note that in impersonal passives where the subject position is left vacant, the position is now filled by *er*. If Dutch were to continue to move along this continuum, we would expect it to show the eventual grammaticalization of strict SVO order (where the subject is required by rule to appear in preverbal position in the sentence). At the moment Dutch still shows a more flexible word order than a language like English which has such a grammatical rule for the placement of subject. In Dutch any topical element can appear preverbally. With subjects being primary candidates for topics, however, we might well imagine a development where the initial topic is eventually restricted to the subject. In this case, word order would not just signal clause types, but would also signal basic grammatical relations - subjects would be marked by their position immediately preceding the verb, objects by their postverbal position. We would expect, then, movement rules like passivization and focus constructions like cleft and pseudo-cleft to play a greater role in the

signalling of those pragmatic distinctions which could once be signalled by alternative word order patterns. In addition, considerations of intonation and stress (which no doubt would always have played some role) would be of even greater importance in the signalling of these distinctions.

We have considered the grammaticalization of word order and the demise of the pragmatic use of word order variation in the language. What remains now to be discussed are the possible variables which are responsible for the choice of particular word order patterns. Why, for example, did the language chose to grammaticalize verb-second order as the marker of main clauses, as opposed to verb-final or near-to-verb-final order for subordinate clauses?

Data from early Germanic dialects suggest that the neutral unmarked order for both main and subordinate clauses in Proto-Germanic was verb-final. The evidence for this need not concern us here (cf. Dunbar 1979:Chapter 4, Stockwell 1977 and Bean 1983:Chapter 3). Although of course any statement made on the nature of the syntactic system of a reconstructed language must be tentative, I will, nonetheless, also adopt the position that Proto-Germanic was verb-final. Indirect support for this comes from Givón (1976a:175) who notes that many languages which exhibit pragmatically controlled word order variation similar to that of Middle Dutch are ex-SOV languages. He concludes that the pragmatic use of word order variation "seems to be associated with the dissolution of the strong, grammaticalized SOV word order and an intermediate phase during which at least some ex-SOV typologies seem to develop a considerable freedom in the pragmatic use of word-order variation along the principles described by Bol inger (1952)". The question is of course, as Givón himself admits - what is the motivation behind this initial shift? In this respect we can draw upon those theories of word order change discussed in Chapter 2, all of which can be seen to have something to contribute to this question.

If we believe Smith's (1971) evidence, then all the Germanic dialects after 600 AD had dominant verb-second order for declarative main clauses (with verb-final order strongly associated with subordination). In addition, it would seem that all dialects showed the same pragmatic variation in addition to these dominant unmarked orders (the remnants of which we have discussed at length still existed in Middle Dutch).

This seems to point to the fact that Proto-Germanic did not possess, "the strong, grammaticalized SOV word order" described by Givón, but a so-called "leaky" SOV word order. And with respect to Proto-Indo-European, although there is some disagreement as to the basic word order, most evidence does seem to point to a neutral SOV order with a marked VSO order (perhaps even a relic of an earlier period of VSO unmarked order as maintained by Miller 1975) and possibly also a verb-second order due to the operation of Wackernagel's Law (Hirt 1934:223-24, Hopper 1975:16-19 and Dunbar 1979:122-123). Basic verb-final order is supported by Watkins (1964), Smith (1971), Grace (1971), Lehmann (1974), Hopper (1975), Dunbar (1979) (cf. also discussion Bean 1983: Chapter 3), and it seems safe to say that Proto-Indo-European was not, as Aitchison (1979:47) argues, "a particularly 'tight' OV language". The sort of word order variation we find in the early Germanic dialects and later in Middle Dutch is, then, a syntactic inheritance from Proto-Indo-European and the eventual destruction of SOV order in these languages can be traced back to these times. The problem is, however, why Germanic should have grammaticalized verb-second order, while Hindi, for example, remained verb-final and Celtic adopted verb-initial order. As Aitchison (1979) describes it, the seeds of the destruction of original verb-final order did not germinate in the same way for all the daughter languages of Proto-Indo-European.

Let us first consider, though, why Dutch (and Germanic in general) should have abandoned the earlier flexibility of word order in favour of a system of grammatically rigid ordering. I am afraid that I have little more to offer here than the original, traditional position (as first put forward by Sapir 1921); that is, the view that the fixing of the patterns of word order is directly attributable to the loss of a reliable case morphology in the language. As discussed in Chapter 2, the loss of case inflections in Germanic is generally connected with the accent shift in Proto-Germanic, whereby the Indo-European free word stress shifted to initial word stress. The fixing of the stress on the initial syllable, then, provided the necessary conditions which triggered the erosion of the case endings. In Chapter 2 we also saw that this position has received considerable criticism in the recent literature. Most critics claim that items can not be reduced while they are still functional in the language. They argue, therefore, that the stabilization of word order is a necessary precursor to the loss of case morphology.

What I argue for here is essentially a compromise of the two positions. It is clear that a language is not going to wait until all its case endings have been sucessfully eroded away before it introduces some compensatory device (like grammatical word order or other devices like auxiliaries and prepositions, for example) to replace the function of the case endings. Nor is it going to develop something like grammatical word order while it still possesses a fully functional case system. I argue, therefore, like Carlton (1970), that the loss of morphological distinctions and the complementary fixing of word order are intimately connected processes which can operate simultaneously in a language. The erosion of morphological markings can begin to operate and create a need in the language for some form of grammatical change if that language is to continue to communicate effectively (cf. also Harris 1975). Certainly, the levelling of case inflections is very obvious during the history of Middle Dutch. The gender system had already collapsed in the plural forms, and was also very definitely in the process of collapsing in the singular forms. The accusative case was only distinguished in the singular masculine form, and the genitive and dative cases were used more and more infrequently. In practice, the inflectional endings of the so-called weak and strong noun declensions were often confused and more often omitted entirely. In addition, Middle Dutch did not possess an entirely dependable subject agreement paradigm on the verb, so where the grammatical status of a noun was ambiguous, the verb agreement would often be of no assistance. Something is obviously going to have to replace such a crumbling inflectional system if the basic grammatical relations are to be signalled reliably, and grammatical word order is one such remedy. What I do dispute, however, is the claim (principally by Vennemann 1974) that the loss of case morphology is responsible for the shift in verb position. As argued in Chapter 2, a simple shift of the verb to second position can do nothing to relieve the ambiguity problems caused by the lack of a dependable subject-object morphology. A verb-second language which can allow both orders OVS and SVO has potentially the same ambiguity problems as an SOV language if subject and object are not clearly marked. Besides, if we are to believe Smith (1971), the Germanic languages already possessed dominant verb-second order as early as 600 AD when subject-object ambiguity would not have been a problem (even leaving aside the fact that normally the internal logic of the discourse is sufficient to disambiguate).

The problem still remains, then, as to why Middle Dutch, and the Germanic languages in general, adopted verb-second order for main clauses, as opposed to verb-final in subordinate clauses.

One of the earliest explanations for the verb-second character of Germanic comes from Wackernagel (1892). According to Wackernagel, unstressed clitic particles and pronouns occurred in second position in the sentence immediately after the first stressed element. This is known to us as Wackernagel's Law and, according to Watkins (1964: 1036), is "one of the few generally accepted syntactic statements about I(ndo)-E(uropean)". The light elements or enclitics could also include unemphatic verbs (Wackernagel p.427-34). The operation of Wackernagel's Law, therefore, gave rise to verb-second order in main clauses as an alternative to the more basic verb-final order. Wackernagel's Law would account, then, for the existence of the brace construction in the Germanic languages; i.e. the fact that the non-finite verb parts remained in final position in main clauses, and that verb-final remained the neutral order for subordinate clauses (i.e. if we assume the verb in subordinate clauses was not unstressed). Nonetheless, as Haiman (1974:148) points out, neither Greek nor Sanskrit, languages for which we know this clitic rule to have existed, ever became verb-second languages like Germanic.

Though it is certainly conceivable that Wackernagel's Law had a part in paving the way for the stabilization of verb-second order, it can not account entirely for this development.

History shows us that a change from verb-final to verb-second is a very common development amongst the world's languages. In fact, as we discussed in Chapter 2, recent work in typology claims the following sequence of word order types to represent a universal drift in language (Givón 1976a, 1977, Stockwell 1977, Vennemann 1974, 1975, for example) -

SOV ⟶ VSO ⟶ TVX ⟶ SVO

Vennemann's schema differs slightly from the above in that he posits TVX as the only intermediate stage between SOV and SVO, and VSO as a possible subsequent stage to SVO. There is, however, very little evidence for the existence of a verb-initial stage in either schema, at least with respect to Germanic. For this reason I am not entirely convinced that VSO ever comprised a separate stage but only existed as a variation

on the patterns SOV, as we argued above was the case in Indo-European (cf. Watkins 1964, for example).[1] Developments in Dutch, then, are in direct accordance with this universal drift (cf. also Gerritsen 1980, 1982b). But as we discussed in Chapter 2, showing a language to be part of a typological drift does not in any sense constitute an explanation for the changes in that language. While typology does show us that languages tend to move in preferred directions of change, typological accounts themselves have only limited explanatory value. For the motivating force behind the stabilization of verb-second order in Dutch we must look elsewhere.

I feel that it is ultimately pragmatic factors which are responsible for the choice of the grammaticalized word order patterns in Dutch. As we discussed above, evidence from the early Germanic languages strongly suggests that next to a dominant verb-final order, Proto-Germanic also possessed at least two marked variant word orders, verb-initial and verb-second which seemed to be closely connected with pragmatic factors of assertion versus presupposition. Both orders were highly assertive and tended to convey information which was new and non-topical. Verb-second typically involved the fronting of some sort of linking adverb which served as a cohesive device in the discourse (witness the frequent occurrence of initial adverbs *þa*, *þonne* and *her*, for example, in Old English texts; cf. Stockwell 1977, Bean 1983). And as we saw in Chapter 4, initial adverbials, particularly single adverbs like *dan* and *so* for example, formed the majority of TVX clauses in Middle Dutch. It seems likely that the structures involving this sort of 'resumptive' topicalization provided the spearhead for the infiltration of TVX syntax. In this way, it is easy to see how TVX order with strict verb-second order (and subject-verb inversion) might develop from VSO order. As main clauses are the most assertive of clauses (and for that reason make the greatest use of processes like topicalization), it is easy to understand how the characteristically most assertive word order came to be associated with this clause type. In other words, the choice of verb-second to mark main declarative clauses reflects its earlier pragmatic function in the language. Similarly, verb-final order which originally signalled presupposed or topical material came to be associated with subordinate clauses, pragmatically the most presupposed of clauses. This development represents what has been called pragmatic unmarking or a markedness reversal. As we discussed in Chapter 7, this is a common

mechanism of change, whereby what was once a pragmatically marked item, becomes through frequent use the neutral, unmarked form - or as Vennemann (1974:368) writes: "the pragmatic component of emphasis is lost through frequent use".

The grammaticalization of verb-initial order for conjunctionless conditionals is also explicable in the light of the peculiar pragmatic properties which belong to these clauses (cf. discussion Givón 1976a: 169). As Givón points out (footnote 34), these clauses can not in purely logical terms be presupposed (although in terms of the discourse-pragmatics it turns out that they sometimes are). The highly assertive nature of these clauses, then, is reflected in their preference for subject-verb inversion (note that bound conjunctionless conditionals; i.e. in sequence conjoined by *ende*, preserved for slightly longer the more characteristic verb-final subordinate order, although even these clauses eventually grammaticalized verb-initial order). In addition, those conditional clauses headed by conjunctions (like *als*, or *indien*) had the highest frequency of subject-verb inversion and non-verb-final order in general of all the subordinate clauses, predictably on account of the same pragmatic conditioning. Verb-initial conjunctionless conditionals (including also those headed by the intensifier *al*) were likely very much more expressive and emphatic than those headed by conjunctions, and they preserve this emphatic quality in the Germanic languages today. Their now infrequent use and archaic flavour suggest, however, that these clauses are recessive. The greater use of the equivalent clauses headed by subordinators indicates the existing pressure in the language to conform to the general pattern of subordination - in the case of Dutch, an initial subordinating connective and verb-final order.

It seems that in Proto-Germanic (and even as early as Proto-Indo-European; cf. Hirt 1937, Hopper 1975, Watkins 1964 and Dunbar 1979: Chapter 4) verb-initial order was well on its way to grammaticalizing for yes/no questions and imperative clauses. Since initial position is one of emphasis, it is not surprising that this order became associated with these two clause types in which the verb is typically that element which is most in focus. In Middle Dutch, and I assume also for the other Germanic languages, verb-initial order grammaticalized first for yes/no questions (cf. discussion Chapter 7). As Gerritsen shows, verb-initial

order had not completely stabilized in Dutch until quite late, sometime during the 17th century. Obviously, in imperative clauses the possibilities for topicalization are much greater than in either yes/no questions or conjunctionless conditionals, and as Gerritsen's study shows, Middle Dutch imperatives had considerable fluctuation between verb-second and verb-first orders.

In Chapter 5, we noted that at one stage it looked very much as if Middle Dutch was well on its way to losing the brace construction in both main and subordinate clauses; i.e. the final placement of past participles and infinitives in main clauses was disappearing, and non-final order (possibly eventually verb-second order) was developing as the norm in subordinate clauses. In the 15th century, for example, more than half the main clauses with a compound tense lacked the complete brace. It was suggested here that the sudden swing towards the brace construction again in the 16th century came about through Latin influence (despite the recent scepticism that is attached to Latin borrowing as an explanation for rise of such SOV characteristics as these in Dutch, and also German during this time). Evidence for this came from the language of the legal documents, an informal analysis of which revealed that these texts possessed the highest rates of exbraciation (supported by Ebert's 1980 findings for German). Additional evidence came from the work of those individuals who it was considered would be best versed in Latin (although this is not entirely reliable since the necessary biographical details of all the writers used here were for the most part not available). It was suggested that the influence from Latin was indirect; that is, it came about via the attempts by the scribes to emulate what they considered to be good Latin style. This then served as a prestige model for the new literate groups who were emerging at that time. In their pursuit of knowledge, and especially of the law, the new urban bourgeoisie which was developing attached considerable importance to these documents and accordingly the style of language in which they were written.

It seems that in Modern Dutch now certain material, principally adverbials (or what according to McKnight (1897) and Hyman (1975) would be termed 'afterthought material') can appear postverbally in subordinate clauses and to the right of the end brace in main clauses (cf. Jansen 1978, 1981). If Aitchison (1979) and Stockwell (1977) are correct about the nature of syntactic change, this tendency for the postponement or exbraciation of adverbials could well lead to the eventual destruction

of subordinate OV order and the remnants of OV order surviving in the main clause brace. The same rightwards operations which we saw existed in Middle Dutch, and which Aitchison (p.62) describes in Greek as having "snowballed and changed the language from an OV one" can also be found in Dutch; e.g. the postposing of afterthoughts, 'heavy NP shift' and rightwards deletion in coordinate structures. Typologically, we would predict subordinate clauses to follow main clauses, and it seems plausible that these rightwards processes are providing the mechanism.(2) In terms of Emonds 'structure-preserving constraint', we would predict innovations to proceed to subordinate (or non-root) clauses only after they have taken place in main (or root) clauses.

It is plausible to predict that SVO order might eventually grammaticalize in Dutch. In fact, there is evidence that this is already underway in Flemish (cf. Debrabandere 1976). I believe that even in the texts here one can witness the gradual restriction of the sorts of elements which can appear initially, immediately preceding the verb. In the earliest texts it was quite common for objects to appear initially (although adverbials, it is true, were always the most usual initial items). In later texts, however, initial objects became less and less frequent. And one could attribute this to the lack of a dependable subject-object morphology. While the distinction is preserved on pronouns (and pronouns, as we saw in Chapter 4, were topicalized much more frequently - obviously also for the reason that they are more likely topics), with respect to nouns, there is potential ambiguity unless context, stressing, or subject-verb agreement make the sense clear. We would predict, therefore, that grammatical word order would here take over the function of the marking of these basic grammatical relations by means of a strict subject-object placement. Once more, the motivation for this particular order can be seen to be a pragmatic one since it is in direct accordance with the discourse strategy which places topical elements first in the sentence. As we mentioned above, with subjects having the highest topicality of all, it is easy to see how initial topics could be specialized to initial subjects. If Dutch were to develop such a grammatical rule requiring obligatory preverbal placement of the subject, then the initial fronting of some other element would clearly no longer condition the subject-verb inversion characteristic of verb-second languages like Modern Dutch, but rather XSV order. According to Debrabandere's study, this order is now to be found in Flemish, indicating perhaps that the

operation of subject-verb inversion after fronting is now optional here. In Modern Standard Dutch, however, it is still to be found only rarely, and only when there is a large intonation break separating the initial element 'X' from the rest of the sentence.

From the various changes which we have observed in this very short period of Dutch history, it should be clear that a number of different factors are involved. With respect to typology, and typological accounts of change, we saw that the 350 years of Dutch investigated, represented a slice of two different, but intrinsically connected typological drifts. One was the development towards greater subject-prominence, and the other towards SVO type syntax. This latter drift we argued, was ultimately responsible for the former drift away from topic-prominence and towards more consistent subject-prominence. Both drifts, however, had themselves only very limited explanatory value. For the initial motivation behind these shifts we had to look elsewhere. Phonetic erosion, and the subsequent loss of case morphology, we argued, was primarily responsible for the grammaticalization of word order. Syntactically functional word order arose in response to the developing need for a more reliable marking of case functions. Phonetic erosion was not responsible, however, for the so-called shift to verb-second. For this we looked to pragmatic factors. We argued that Proto-Germanic did not have a strict verb-final order but possessed the same pragmatic variation in its word order patterns as existed, but to a much lesser extent, in early Middle Dutch. When the need for grammatical word order arose in the language, this sort of variation disappeared. Those word orders which were chosen to signal the various grammatical properties preserved their former pragmatic origin - verb-second and verb-initial came to mark the most assertive of clauses, main clauses, and imperatives, interrogatives and conjunctionless conditionals respectively; verb-final order developed as the marker of subordination. This development represents what is sometimes called pragmatic unmarking or markedness reversal. This pragmatic unmarking provided, then, the means by which these particular word order changes were able to take place in Dutch. We also noted that once Dutch had stabilized its word order, certain other changes were necessary in the language. The need to maintain verb-second order, for example, was responisible for changes like the rise of 'dummy' subjects and the development towards

postverbal negation. In a sense then, these particular changes, and ones like them, represent a way in which typological consistency could play a causal role in syntactic change, since they took place in Dutch precisely because of internal pressure in the language to conform to its type - TVX.

One thing is clear, there is not one factor which can be said to be responsible for the changes which we have observed in Dutch. As Aitchison (1979:63) also concludes - "in any language change, the factors involved are often far more numerous than is commonly realized". And as we have seen, the changes in Dutch represent a complex interaction of different typological, functional, phonological and external influences.

FOOTNOTES

1. Similarly, Stockwell (1977:298) argues that VSO, or as he writes it vSO, was only ever a variant of SOV order in Germanic, and therefore was typologically different from VSO type such as developed in the Celtic languages.

2. As Naro and Lemle (1976:237) observe - "syntactic change tends to sneak through a language, manifesting itself most frequently under those circumstances in which it is least salient or noticeable. This sneaky diffusion occurs along several distinct dimensions simultaneously until eventually the whole language is entrapped" (cited also in Aitchison 1979:62).

APPENDIX 1

A Sketch Grammar of Middle Dutch

A brief description of the grammar of Middle Dutch is provided below. It contains only what is essential for the complete understanding of the sentence examples given in the main body of this thesis. Fuller grammatical treatments of Middle Dutch are contained in those books listed at the end together with a small description. References for those works dealing specifically with aspects of Middle Dutch word order are given in Chapter 1.

The following brief account, then, falls into four parts. Section 1 gives the sound system of Middle Dutch, as presented in the standard handbooks. Section 2 provides information on the basic morphological structure, while Section 3 contains a few notes on the syntax; specifically a description of the cases. Section 4 gives the list of Middle Dutch reference grammars.

1. The Sounds of Middle Dutch

1.1 The consonant inventory

p		t		k		
b		d		g		
	f	s		x		h
	v	z				
m		n		ŋ		
		l		j		
					r	
w				j		

1.2 The Vowel Inventory

short vowels	a e i o ü ö
long vowels	a: e: i: o: ü:
diphthongs	ai au ei ie oe ou oi eu
triphthongs	oei ieu

2. Morphology

2.1 The articles (lidwoorden):

2.11 The definite article (het bepaald lidwoord)

The simple demonstrative pronouns are morphologically identical to the definite articles in Middle Dutch.

TABLE 1

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	die (de)	die (de)	dat
	A	dien (den)	die (de)	dat
	G	dies (des)	dier(e) (der)	dies (des)
	D	dien (den)	dier(e) (der)	dien (den)
Plur.	N		die (de)	
	A		die (de)	
	G		dier(e) (der)	
	D		dien (den)	

Notes:

1) The three genders are neutralised in the plural.

2) The reduced forms which are provided in the brackets may only appear as the definite article. The full *ie*-forms may be used as both the definite article and the demonstrative pronoun.

2.12 The indefinite article (het onbepaald lidwoord)

The indefinite article in Middle Dutch has its origin in the numeral *een* 'one'.

TABLE 2

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	een (ene)	een/ene	een (ene)
	A	enen	een/ene	een (ene)
	G	eens	eenre/ere	eens
	D	enen	eenre/ere	enen

Notes:

1) The forms given in the brackets for both Masc. and Neut. are rare. alternative forms given for the Fem. appear with equal frequency.

2) It is not uncommon to find the form *een* used for the dative Masc. and Neut. and the accusative Masc.

3) The compound form *negheen* 'no'/'none' (*nech* + *een* 'not' + 'one') is declined exactly like *een*. Note however, the plural forms - N/A *neghene* G *negheenre/neghere* D *neghenen*. *Negheen* has also weakened forms *engheen*, *egheen* and even *gheen* (not to be confused with the demonstrative *ghene*, Table 5).

2.2 Pronouns (voornaamwoorden):

2.21 The interrogative pronouns (vragende voornaamwoorden):

TABLE 3

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	wie	wie	wat
	A	wien	wien/wie	wat
	G	wies/wes (wiens)	wies/wes/wiere/wier	wies/wes (wiens)
	D	wien	wien/wiere/wier	wien
Plur.	N		wie	
	A		wien/wie	
	G		wies/wes/wiere/wier	
	D		wien	

Notes:

1) Originally morphologically distinct feminine and plural forms were lacking in the language. These were then identical with the Masc. forms. Under analogy with the demonstrative pronoun (*die*) the alternative forms given in Table 3 gradually developed.

2.22 The relative pronouns (betrekkelijke voornaamwoorden):

In Middle Dutch the demonstrative and interrogative pronouns function also as relative pronouns, which agree in grammatical gender and number with that of their antecedent. Occasionally *die* remains uninflected and behaves very much like an invariable relative participle (*þe* in Old English).

The locative adverb *daer/waer* ('there'/'where') frequently appears as a relative marker, especially in construction with prepositions (the knife, *with which* I cut...).

In legal texts especially, a relative construction is common using *welc* ('which'). Here the co-referential noun phrase following *welc* is not deleted in the relative clause. Examples like the following are also very common in the 17th century texts. The use of *welc* here is very much as a cohesive device.

> Vocalen zijn letteren dí klincken dór hun selven, ende doen de Consonanten luyden. So dat Consonanten zijn letteren dí dór hun selven allen nít en luyden, már dór de Vocalen by hen gevoeght: *welcke Vocalen* zijnder ses, a, e, i, o, u, y
> 'Vowels are letters which sound by themselves, and make the consonants sound. So that consonants are letters which do not sound by themselves [only], but by the vowels added to them: (of) which vowels there are six, a, e, i, o, u, y'
>
> (Bolognino 1944)

Welc preceded by a definite article (eg. *die de/welke*) also has the function of a relative.

2.23 The demonstrative pronouns (aanwijzende voornaamwoorden):

In addition to the simple demonstrative pronoun which is identical in form to the definite article (cf. Section 2.1) Middle Dutch possesses a compound demonstrative *dese* ('this'/'these').

TABLE 4

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	dese	dese	ditte/dit
	A	desen	dese	ditte/dit
	G	des	desere/deser/derre	des
	D	desen	desere/deser/derre	desen
Plur.	N		dese	
	A		dese	
	G		desere/deser/derre	
	D		desen	

Notes:

1) The form *derre* is the most usual form for the Sing. Fem. genitive and dative cases, and the Plur. genitive case.

2) Occasionally *dese* is found for the Sing. Masc. accusative and dative cases.

The demonstrative pronoun *ghene* ('that (one)') originates from the Germanic stem **jen-/*jan* (giving English *yon*) to which is attached a pronoun form.

The older neuter forms given in brackets in Table 5 below preserve this etymology, cf. Franck van Wijk *Etymologisch Woordenboek.*

TABLE 5

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	ghene	ghene	ghene/gheen (ghent/ ghint/ghont/gheent)
	A	ghenen	ghene	ghene/gheen (ghent/ ghint etc..)
	G	gheens	gheenre/gherre	gheens
	D	ghenen	gheenre/gherre	ghenen
Plur.	N		ghene	
	A		ghene	
	G		gheenre/gherre	
	D		ghenen	

Notes:

1) In its declension *ghene* is like a strong adjective (cf. Section 2.30). However, when used substantively with a preceding definite article (*die ghene* 'those ones') it carries the endings of a weak adjective. Note that *dat ghene* is more often reduced to *'tghene*.

2.24 Personal pronouns (persoonlijke voornaamwoorden):

TABLE 6

		1st person	2nd person
Sing.	N	ic/icke	du
	A	mi	di
	G	mijns	dijns
	D	mi	di
Plur.	N	wi(e)	ghi (-i)
	A	ons	u/ju/jou
	G	onser/onse/ons	uwer/uwes
	D	ons	u/ju/jou

		3rd person		
		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	hi (-i)	soe/si (-se)	het/hit (-(e)t)
	A	heme/hem/him (en(e)/-ne)	hare/haer/hore (-se)	het/hit (-(e)t)
	G	syns (-s)	haers/haar/hare (-er(e)/-re/-der)	syns (-s)
	D	heme/hem (-em)	hare/haer/hore (-er(e)/-re/-der)	heme/hem (-em)
Plur.	N		si (-se)	
	A		hem/hen (-se)	
	G		haers/hare/haer (-er(e)/-re/-der)	
	D		hem/hen/him (-en)	

Notes:

1) Middle Dutch has, alongside the set of full pronouns, a set of corresponding reduced forms, which in the orthography are represented as enclitic to the preceding element (usually the verb). These unstressed variants are given in brackets beside their corresponding full forms.

2) The second person plural form *ghi* was used also as the polite form of address. By the early 17th century, however, *du* had virtually dropped out of the language in favour of *ghi* (which was then in turn replaced by *jij* (*je*) and a new second person plural form *jullie*). A new polite form *U* emerged during the 17th century also. The whole complex question of the rise of the second person pronouns in Dutch is examined by Van den Toorn (1982).

3) As an enclitic in subject-verb inversion, the initial *d* of the pronouns *du* and *di* assimilates totally to the preceding *t* of the verbal ending as in *doestu* (*doest du*).

4) When *ghi* is used enclitically, the final *t* of the preceding verb and the initial voiced velar fricative of *ghi* assimilate totally to give *d* (except when they are preceded by another *t*) - *segdi*, *moochdi* but *laetti*.

2.25 Reflexive pronouns (wederkerende voornaamwoorden):

Middle Dutch has no formally distinct item which represents the reflexive pronoun. Accusative personal pronouns, however, can also be used

reflexively. The reflexive pronoun *zich* of Modern Dutch entered the language from German as early as the 14th century, but was only used sporadically until the 17th century.

2.26 Possessive pronouns (bezittelijke voornaamwoorden):

The possessive pronouns of Middle Dutch inflect like strong adjectives (cf. Table 9), although it is not uncommon to find uninflected forms.

TABLE 7

	1st person	2nd person	3rd person
Sing.	mijn	dijn	sijn (masc.) haer/hare (fem.) sijn (neut.)
Plur.	onse/ons	uwe/uw	hare/haer (all genders)

Notes:

1) At one time the form *sijn* was used as the general pronoun of 3rd person possession, regardless of gender and number. In Middle Dutch it is more usual to find it restricted to masc. and neut. singular, with the fem. and plural forms being taken over by *hare/haer*.

2.27 Indefinite pronouns (onbepaalde voornaamwoorden):

A) The equivalent of English pronoun *one* in Middle Dutch is *men*. It can however only serve as a subject pronoun.

B) *Ander* ('other') originally declined only strongly (cf. declension of strong adjectives Table 9). In Middle Dutch, however, it appears also with weak endings when preceded by the definite article. The weak forms, when they differ from the strong forms, are given in brackets.

TABLE 8

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	ander (and(e)re)	and(e)re/ander	ander (and(e)re)
	A	anderen	and(e)re/ander	ander (and(e)re)
	G	anders (anderen)	and(e)re/anderre/ander	anders (anderen)
	D	anderen	and(e)re/anderre/ander	anderen
Plur.	N/A		and(e)re/ander	
	G		and(e)re/anderre/ander	
	D		anderen	

C) *Nieman/niemen* ('nobody') and *ieman/iemen* ('somebody') take strong declension endings - N/A *niemen*, G *niemens*, D *niemene*. As in the case of the personal pronouns, the dative forms are frequently used for the accusative.

D) Originally a neuter noun, *vele* ('a lot') came to be interpreted also as a plural adjective meaning 'many'. From this it developed a singular adjective form meaning 'much'.

E) The neuter singular indefinite *al* ('all', 'everybody') declines strongly and has a regular plural *alle*, alongside an irregular form *allen*, taken over from the dative. As an adjective it is declined strongly, although when separated from its noun by a possessive pronoun it is invariable. In this function invariable *al* (and *alle*) are described by Verdam as adverbials, meaning 'totally'.

F) The indefinite *elc* ('each'), *sulc* ('such'), *menich* ('many'), *somich* ('some') and *enich* ('only') are declined strongly. They do appear as invariable forms also. When preceded by a definite article they take regular weak endings. Note that *menich* is never plural.

G) *Som* ('some') is declined strongly, and almost always in the plural - N/A *some*, G *somer*, D *somen*.

H) *Beide* ('both') is declined strongly and almost always appears in the plural. When separated from its noun by a possessive pronoun it is unvariable - *met beide sinen handen*.

2.3 Adjectives (bijvoeglijke naamwoorden):

In Middle Dutch adjectives are declined strongly or weakly, although as can be seen by the tables below the distinction is collapsing.

TABLE 9 Strong adjectives

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N	-	-e (-)	-		-e	
A	-en (-)	-e (-)	-		-e	
G	-es/-s	-ere/er -re (-der)	-es/-s		-ere/-er -re (-der)	
D	-en	-ere/er -re (-der)	-en		-en	

Notes:

1) Both the indefinite article and its negative equivalent are followed by adjectives with strong endings.

2) The gender distinction is neutralised in the plural.

TABLE 10 Weak adjective

	Singular			Plural		
	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.	Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
N	-e	-e	-e		-e	
A	-en	-e	-e		-e	
G	-s/-en	-ere -er/re/en	-s/-en		-ere/er/re	
D	-en	-ere/ -er/-re/-en	-en		-en	

Notes:

1) The definite article demands adjectives with weak endings; that is, as far as they can be distinguished from strong.

2) The predicate adjective is invariable.

2.4 Negation (ontkenning):

Basically Middle Dutch possesses three types of negative construction -

Type 1 preverbal negator *en/ne/-n.*

Type 2 double negation involving the preverbal negator *en/ne/-n* and a single postverbal negator *niet.*

Type 3 single postverbal negator *niet.*

Of these three types, Type 2 is the most common.

2.5 Nouns (zelfstandige naamwoorden):

Middle Dutch possesses two classes of nouns usually referred to as the strong class and the weak class, although in practice the inflectional endings of the two classes are often confused or omitted entirely.

TABLE 11 The strong declension

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N	-	-	-
	A	-	-	-
	G	-es/-s	-/-e	-es/-s
	D	-e	-e	-e
Plur.	N		-e	
	A		-e	
	G		-e	
	D		-en	

Notes:

1) A small group of monosyllabic neuter nouns form their plural by adding *-er* and then the regular plural endings. This group includes

nouns like *kind* ('child'), *ey* ('egg'), *blad* ('leaf'), *been* ('bone') and *hoen* ('fowl'). Hence the plural of *kind* is N/A *kinder(e)*, G *kindere*, D *kinderen*.

2) The *e* ending of the genitive masc. and neut. singular is often omitted through syncope. Even the dative singular *e* can be omitted after nouns ending in a consonant.

3) Kinship nouns like *moeder*, *vader*, *suster*, *broeder* and *dochter* are invariable except in the genitive plural (*-e*) and the dative plural (*-en*). Occasionally *vader* and *broeder* will show a genitive singular *-s* ending, and, although even more rarely, a nominative and accusative plural *-e* ending.

TABLE 12 The weak declension

		Masc.	Fem.	Neut.
Sing.	N.	-e	-e	-e
	A	-e	-e	-e
	G	-en	-en	-en
	D	-en/-e	-en/-e	-en/-e
Plur.	N		-en	
	A		-en	
	G		-en	
	D		-en	

Notes:

1) In the singular, the dative case usually follows the accusative case and drops the *n*.

2) The plural *-en* ending is often extended to nouns of the strong declension.

3) A plural *-s* ending borrowed from the French is frequently found on nouns ending in *-er*.

4) The weak class contains very many feminine nouns. Accordingly, many masculine and neuter nouns ending in *-e* assume a feminine gender, and nouns not ending in *-e* are felt then to be masculine.

5) Proper names inflect in Middle Dutch. Female names generally show weak inflection, while masculine names ending in a consonant show strong inflection, and those ending in a vowel weak inflection.

2.6 The verbs (werkwoorden):

The verbs of Middle Dutch appear in both simple and compound tenses. The simple tenses include the present and the imperfect in the active voice. They can show two moods - the indicative and the subjunctive and the present tense shows an additional imperative mood (second person singular and plural).

Compound forms are used to form the future and perfect tenses in the active voice and all tenses in the passive voice. The most common auxiliaries forming the passive are *sijn* ('to be') and *worden* ('to become') and occasionally *blijven* ('to remain'). Either *hebben* ('to have') or *sijn* are used to form the perfect and the modal auxiliary *sullen* ('shall') forms the future tense.

The verbs of Middle Dutch fall into two classes, strong and weak, which are distinguished in the formation of the imperfect. The strong verbs show a change in the root vowel, while the weak verbs form the imperfect by simply adding a suffix with initial dental consonant (cf. Table 17). Strong and weak verbs can not be distinguished in the present tense. Although originally they differed in the formation of the imperative mood (the strong verbs showed a characteristic lack of ending, while weak verbs added *-e*), even in the earliest Middle Dutch texts strong and weak imperatives appear in both forms. Hence we find pairs like *nem(nim)-neme; com-come; val-valle; heet-hete* etc... Table 13 shows the present tense of both strong and weak verbs.

TABLE 13 Strong and weak verbs

		Present indicative	Present subjunctive	Imperative
Sing.	1	-e	-e	
	2	-es (occasionally -est)	-es (occasionally -est)	-(e)
	3	-et	-e	
Plur.	1	-en	-en	
	2	-et	-et	-et
	3	-en	-en	
			Present participle - ende	

Notes:

1) Endings *-es* and *-et* often show syncope of the vowel. Where the verbal root ends in a voiced consonant, a characteristic devoicing

of the consonant takes place when the *-t* suffix is added. This devoicing is reflected in the spelling, although inconsistently.

Middle Dutch possesses three non-finite verb forms - a present participle (stem + *-ende*), a past participle (*ghe-* prefix + *-en* for strong verbs and *-t/d* for weak) and an infinitive. The function of the past participle prefix *ghe-* was originally to indicate that action of the verb was complete. For that reason it is not uncommon, especially in the early texts of Middle Dutch, to find the *ghe-* prefix omitted from those verbs which are inherently perfective (for example verbs like *comen* 'to come', *vinden* 'to find', etc...). In addition, those verbs with an unaccented prefix in their stem do not add *ghe-* to form the past participle (for example *beghinnen* 'to begin'). Those verbs with a stressed prefix either omit the *ghe-* or place it between the prefix and the stem (for example *upheven* or *upgheheven* 'risen'). The following table shows the declension of the Middle Dutch infinitive.

TABLE 14 The infinitive

	N/A	G	D
infinitive ending	-en	-ens	-ene

2.61 Strong verbs:

The indicative and subjunctive moods are not distinguished in the imperfect tense of either strong or weak verbs.
The following table shows the characteristic imperfect endings of the Middle Dutch strong verbs. In addition to these suffixes, strong verbs fall into 7 classes distinguished by the vowel changes they show in the verbal root. These 7 classes with their respective vowel changes are given in Table 16.

TABLE 15 Imperfect endings - strong verbs

Sing.	1	-
	2	-(e)s
	3	-
Plur.	1	-en
	2	-(e)t
	3	-en

TABLE 16 Strong verb classes

	Present	Imperfect	Perfect Past Part.
Class 1	ik grijp	ic greep/wi grepen	ghegrepen
(*gripen*, bliven, swighen, crighen, scinen, gheliken, striken)			
Class 2	ic bied	ic bood/wi boden	gheboden
(*bieden*, bedriegen, kiesen, tien, lieghen, verliesen)			
	ic sluit	ic sloot/wi sloten	ghesloten
(*sluiten*, ruken, luken, ontpluken, scuven)			
Class 3	ic werde	ic wart/wi worden	(ghe)worden
(*werden*, sterven, werpen, berghen, bedreven)			
	ic drink	ic drank/wi dronken	ghedronken
(*drinken*, binden, dwinghen, beghinnen, vinden, winnen, singhen)			
Class 4	ic spreek	ic sprak/wi spraken	ghesproken
(*spreken*, nemen, comen, treken, wreken, (be)velen)			
Class 5	ic geef	ic gaf/wi gaven	ghegeven
(*geven*, eten, vergheten, lesen, pleghen, steken, wesen, sien)			
Class 6	ic vaar	ic voer/wi voeren	ghevaren
(*varen*, draghen, laden, slaen, ghewaghen)			
Class 7	ic val	ic viel/wi vielen	ghevallen
(*vallen*, hanghen, vanghen (vaen), ganghen (gaen), ghevallen, houden, ghewouden, laten, raden, slapen, roepen, heten, sceden, lopen)			

Notes:

Class 3 - The verb *bernen* ('to burn') appears in the Brabant dialect as *berren* with the appropriate vowel changes.

The verb *beghinnen* ('to begin') has in addition to the regular strong imperfect *began* a weak form *begonde/ begonste* (past participle *begonst*).

Those verbs whose stem ends in an *r* + consonant cluster show regular *a* vowel imperfect forms as well as *e* vowel forms in the singular (for example - *sterven* has both *starf* and *sterf* *werpen* both *warp* and *werp*).

Class 4 - *Bevelen* has occasionally an irregular imperfect *bevel* next to *beval*.

Class 5 - Note the irregular imperfect forms of the verbs *wesen* ('to be') and *sien* ('to see'): *wesen - was* (sg)*/waren* (pl) *(ghewesen/ gheweest* cf. Table 18), *sien - sach* (sg)*/saghen* (pl) *(ghesien)*.

The verbs *ligghen, bidden, sitten* belong also to this class although they show a weak present.

Class 6 - To this class belongs the verb *staen* ('to stand') - *ic sta; ic stoet/wi stoeten; ghestaen.* More common, however, are forms with the intrusive *n* (originally only in the present, but then extended to all tenses), which eventually replaced the earlier forms: infinitive *standen; ic stand; ic stont/ wi stonden; ghestanden.* The older forms of *staen* are more prevalent in the Brabantish dialect.

Class 7 - This class originates from the class of reduplicated imperfect forms of Proto-Germanic, although there remains nothing of the original reduplication in Middle Dutch (Gothic *haldan - haihald; haitan - haihait*). These verbs show now a characteristic *ie* vowel in the imperfect.

The imperfect forms of *vanghen* (or more usually *vaen*), *hanghen, ganghen* and *houden* show an irregular short vowel; hence, *vinc, hinc, ginc* and *hilt* respectively.

2.61 Weak verbs:

The 3 classes of weak verbs characteristic of Proto-Germanic had collapsed into one in Middle Dutch. Some verbs of the original Class 1 or *-jan* Class showing a double consonant after short vowels *e* or *u* are a recognisable relic of the old system (for example, *legghen, setten, vullen*).
The following table shows the regular imperfect endings for weak verbs.

TABLE 17 Imperfect endings - weak verbs

Sing.	1	-de(-ede)
	2	-des
	3	-de
Plur.	1	-den
	2	-det
	3	-den

Notes:

1) When followed by an enclitic pronoun, the *-e* ending of the above 1st and 3rd singular persons is deleted (note, this is true also of those present tense suffixes which end in *-e*).

Irregularities in the class of weak verbs are numerous. They include verbs like *bringhen* ('to bring'), *denken* ('to think'), *dunken* ('to seem')

werken ('to work'), *soeken* ('to seek'), *coepen* ('to buy') and *doghen* ('to be worth'). For the conjugation of these and the modal verbs (*kunnen, mogen, willen, sullen, dorven, moeten*), cf. Von Franck 1884: 133-144 and Vercoullie 1900: 74-77. For convenience both the verbs 'to be' and 'to have' are conjugated below.

TABLE 18 *sijn/wesen* - 'to be'

		Present Indicative	Imperfect	Imperative	Perfect Past Part.
Sing.	1	ben/bin (bem/bim)	was		ghesijn/ghewesen (also gheweset/ gheweest especially in Brabantish and Hollandish texts)
	2	bes/bis (best/ bist)	waers	si/wes	
	3	es/is (occasionally ist)	was		
Plur.	1	sijn	waren		Present Part. sijnde/wesende
	2	sijt	wart	sijt/ weset/weest	
	3	sijn	waren		

Notes:

1) Subjunctive present forms are irregular in the singular - 1st *si*, 2nd *sijs*, 3rd *si* (plural forms are the same as the indicative). Imperfect subjunctive forms are also irregular in the singular - 1st *ware*, 2nd *wares/waers*, 3rd *ware* (plural same as indicative).

2) *Sijn* is the younger infinitive next to the older *wesen* (Gothic *wisan*). It arose from plural indicative forms like those of the 1st and 3rd plural.

TABLE 19 *hebben* - 'to have'

		Present	Imperfect	Imperative	Perfect Past Part.
Sing.	1	hebbe	hadde		ghehat
	2	heves/heefs (hebs/hebt)	haddes	hebbe	
	3	hevet/heft	hadde		
Plur.	1	hebben	hadden		Present Part. hebbende
	2	hebbet/hebt	haddet	hebt	
	3	hebben	hadden		

3. Syntax:

3.1 A brief description of the use of the cases (naamvallen):

3.11 The nominative

The nominative case is that case denoting the subject of the sentence as well as the predicate noun phrase.

3.12 The accusative

The accusative is primarily the case of the direct object. In addition it has a number of adverbial functions.

a) The accusative of place - with verbs of motion the accusative is often used to express the path taken (*enen anderen weg varen* 'to go another way', *ene strate riden* 'to ride down a road', *hi reet berge ende dale* 'he rode over mountains and valleys').

b) The accusative of time - (*enen sekeren nacht quam B* 'on a certain night B came', *hi moet hebben gewoont jaer ende dach...* 'he must have lived for a year and a day...', and expressions like *alle mael* 'every time', *die wile (dat)* 'at the time (that), *alle den nacht* 'all the night through' etc...).

c) The accusative of quantity or measure in general - (*...deen van den andren een dumael* '...the one from the other a thumbs length', *enen groot costen* 'to cost one groot (a coin)').

With verbs of perception, the accusative can appear with an infinitive and can be the subject or object of the infinitive.

i) *Dat bloet sach ic ant yser hanghen* 'I saw the blood hanging on the iron'

ii) *Ghi sult in den derden daghe sien uwen casteel bestormen* 'On the third day you shall see your castle stormed'

With a present or past participle, the accusative absolute construction is not an infrequent construction in Middle Dutch.

i) *Dit sperma ruta nochteren ghedronken gheen wiin en mach hem deren* 'Rue seed drunk in moderation, no wine can harm him'

Certain prepositions demand the accusative case (*op, onder jegen*). Other prepositions (*in* for example) take the accusative when the action of the verb involves a change in position. Where there is no change of position, the dative case is used.

One puzzling feature of the accusative case is that it frequently is used to denote the subject of the sentence, and this is especially true of the Brabantish dialect. Most usually it expresses the subject of an intransitive verb, or the subject of a passive construction, though this need not always be. In these instances it expresses either logical objects (in Fillmorian terms the 'objective' case) or 'experiencer' subjects (i.e., something like the absolutive/ergative distinction). Of course this is only obvious with singular masculine nouns, since only these are distinct in the accusative case. It may simply be that with the collapsing of the nominative accusative cases, speakers are losing grasp of the distinction, and are using the cases interchangeably. It is certainly true that the accusative is used to denote the subject with much more regularity than any of the grammar books of Middle Dutch describe. They either omit discussion of it entirely, or treat it as if it were scribal error only. The appearance of accusative subjects is discussed here in Chapter 6, section 6.4.

3.13 The genitive:

The genitive case is of course primarily the case indicating the possessor (*mogentheit des lants* 'rule of the land', *des coninc̄s sale* 'the king's room').

Very common in Middle Dutch is the partitive genitive. Here it is used after comparative or superlative adjectives (*hi was der quaetster sonderen een* 'he was one of the worst sinners'), after numerals (*hi hadde 21 der jare* 'he was 21 years old'), after nouns denoting quantity or measure (*een lepel honichs* 'a spoon of honey') after substantive adjectives of quantity like *vele* or *wenich* (*een weynich cornes* 'a little grain').

A large number of adjectives in Middle Dutch demand the genitive case (*vul* 'full (of)', *rike* 'rich(in)', *sculdich* 'guilty (of)', *vro/blide* 'happy (with)/glad (of)'. For a more exhaustive list cf. Stoett 1909: 106-108.

Where the object is of a partitive nature it appears in the genitive case (*hi at des honechs* 'he ate (of) the honey').

There are many verbs in Middle Dutch which demand an object in the genitive case. These fall into three main groups (but again for a more exhaustive list of these verbs cf. Stoett 1909:99-105, since there are many verbs which do not fall into any of these three groups).

i) verbs of wishing or asking (*vragen* 'to ask', *geren* 'to desire').

ii) verbs of thinking or preceiving (*vernemen* 'to preceive', *horen* 'to hear').

iii) verbs with a sense of 'doing without' or 'parting with' (*sparen* 'spare', *ontgaen* 'escape', *hem onthouden* 'refrain from').

The genitive of cause is a common construction in Middle Dutch (*des haddi sorghe* 'for this reason was he troubled'). In addition to cause, the genitive has a number of other adverbial functions, primarily though in adverbial time expressions (*nachts* 'at night', *smorghens* 'in the morning', *(s)nuchtens* 'moderately', *eens daghes* 'one day').

3.14 The dative:

The dative case is the case of the indirect object. It usually precedes the direct object (except when both are pronouns, in which case the direct object will precede).

A number of transitive verbs in Middle Dutch express their 'indirect' (personal) objects in the dative case (*danken* 'to thank', *geven* 'to give'). A number of verbs express their 'object' in the dative. Some of these are now transitive in Modern Dutch (*volgen* 'to follow', *hinderen* 'to hinder') or have remained intransitive with a prepositional object (*antwoorden* 'to answer', *(ghi)lijken* 'to resemble' - cf. Stoett 1909:111-118 for a more exhaustive list).

The dative as a case of possession is common in Middle Dutch. In the texts studied here, it is especially frequent with body parts or illnesses (*dat suuert hem die hersen* 'that cleanses his brains', *dat heelt hem dat seer* 'that heals his wound').

A number of adjectives require the dative case (*nuttelijc* 'useful (for)', *gram* 'cross (with)', *ghelijc* 'similar (to)').

Certain prepositions demand the dative case (*te* 'to', *van* 'of/from', *bi* 'by/near', *met* 'with'). Other prepositions like *in* can take either the dative or the accusative. The dative is used when no change of position is indicated by the verb (cf. discussion of the accusative case above).

Middle Dutch possesses a use of the dative which has traditionally been called the 'ethic dative'. Here the dative is used to denote persons who are involved in some way with the action of the verb, but not directly

involved (*ghi selt mi saterdaghe gaen ter kerken* 'as far as I am concerned, you shall go to church on Saturday').

For the use of the dative, accusative and genitive cases in constructions involving impersonal verbs cf. Chapter 6, section 6.3, where the development of these constructions is examined in detail.

4. Middle Dutch Grammars

The following are the standard works of reference for Middle Dutch grammar. They are given below in chronological sequence together with a brief description.

FRANCK, J. Von (1884, revised 1910)
Mittelniederländische Grammatik, Leipzig (Chr. Herm. Tauchnitz).
This represents the first grammar of Middle Dutch, and is still one of the standard works of reference. It provides a full treatment of both phonology and morphology in the standard neo-grammarian framework and offers a full account of the development of Dutch from early Germanic.

HELTEN, W.L. van (1887)
Middelnederlandsche Spraakkunst, Groningen (Wolters)
Once more only phonology and morphology is considered. It offers much material (with useful references to the source material used). Its organization, however, makes it sometimes difficult to work with.

VERCOULLIE, J. (1900)
Schets een der Historische Grammatica der Nederlandsche Taal, Gent (J. Vuylsteke).
As the title suggests this offers a more concise treatment of the phonology and morphology of Middle Dutch. It also provides an account of the developments in Dutch from early Germanic to Modern Dutch.

STOETT, F.A. (1909)
Middelnederlandsche Syntaxis, 's-Gravenhage (Martinus Nijhoff).
This book offers for the first time details of the syntax of Middle Dutch. Unfortunately the rich collection of details is not nearly as useful as it might be in that all examples are cited without any reference to the sources used. Without any idea of the date or dialect of a construction, it is of little use for any study of syntactic change in the language. This is unfortunate, since the presentation of facts

and the thoroughness of the work makes it otherwise an invaluable reference book.

BARNOUW, A.J. (1914)
Grammatical Introduction to Beatrijs, an extract from *Publications of the Philosophical Society III* (Oxford University Press).
As the title implies, this is a short introduction aimed at the would-be readers of the 14th century text *Beatrijs*. The grammar is therefore not treated in any depth (it also lacks any discussion of the syntax), but it is useful by virtue of its conciseness, and certainly distinguishes itself as the only grammatical treatment as yet of Middle Dutch which is written in English.

LE ROUX, T.H. & LE ROUX J.J. (1945)
Middelnederlandse Grammatika, Pretoria (J.L. van Schaik).
The treatment of phonology and morphology here seems largely based on that by Franck (1884) although it has the added interest of providing comparative data from Afrikaans. It also contains some discussion of syntax. From a practical angle, in organization it is perhaps more accessible than any of the above.

BOUMAN, A.C. (1945, first edition 1934)
Middelnederlandse Bloemlezing met Grammatica, Zutphen (W.J. Thieme).
Like Barnouw's grammar (1914), this work is also meant only as an introductory grammar for those readers of the anthology. It is nonetheless a useful concise treatment of the grammar.

OVERDIEP, G.S. (1946)
Vormleer van het Middelnederlandsch der 13de Eeuw, Antwerp (N.V. Standaard-Boekhandel).
This study is based on the language from a handful of 13th century rhymed texts. Only the morphology is dealt with.

LOEY, A. van (1948-49)
Middelnederlandse Spraakkunst (I Vormleer, II Klankleer), Groningen (Wolters).
Examining what appear to be non-literary texts (largely charters) from the 13th through to the 15th century, Van Loey's book provides a wealth of information on the phonology and morphology of the language at this time, with the great advantage that it takes into account the

dialect differences. Unfortunately, Van Loey's book also shows the characteristic missing volume on syntax.

BERG, B. van den (1971)
Inleiding tot de Middelnederlandse Syntaxis, Groningen (Wolters).
The great advantage of this study is that it gives a great many examples complete with reference to source material. Of particular interest here is the fact that Van den Berg makes use of several Middle Dutch medical texts for his examples. Unfortunately the treatment is not as complete as it might be, on account of the fact that Van den Berg is interested in describing only those details of Middle Dutch syntax which differ from those of the modern language. Organization and methodology make it such that it is an extremely difficult book to work through. Often unlike construction types are treated together because of his unusual method of classification.

WEIJNEN, A. (1971)
Schets van de Geschiedenis van de Nederlandse Syntaxis, Assen (Van Gorcum & Comp.).
In organization of the syntactic facts, Weijnen's treatment is very much superior to that of Van den Berg. It also takes into account any syntactic changes which have taken place, and he follows these through until the modern time. Both Van den Berg's and Weijnen's studies are reviewed by G.A. van Es (1974) "Op weg naar een historische syntaxis van het Nederlands?" (*Tijdschrift voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* 90, 58-80).

HORST, J. van der (1981)
Kleine Middelnederlandse Syntaxis, Amsterdam (Huis aan de drie grachten).
Van der Horst offers a concise and very useful treatment of Middle Dutch syntax. He also pays attention to a number of important theoretical issues, which have been of interest here; namely, the question of negation, gapping and the placement of the finite verb. His introduction contains a discussion of the general issues involved in the study of historical syntax. With the bibliography of further references and additional observations given at the end of each section, this book is an extremely useful reference for those interested in historical Dutch syntax. It's only shortcoming is its length, which means that some of the discussion and examples are not as full as they might be.

In addition there are the forthcoming editions -

DONALDSON, B.C *Dutch. A Linguistic History*

NEYT, A. and ZONNEVELD, W. *Modern Grammar of Middle Dutch*

APPENDIX 2

Texts

This section contains bibliographic details and brief descriptions of all the source material used here.

1. Brabantish

HADEWIJCH (±1250), *De Visioenen van Hadewijch*. P. Mommaers (ed). Nijmegen, Gottmer, 1979.
Although most of Hadwijch's work appears to have survived, little or nothing is known about her life. The work which is examined here consists of fourteen pieces of prose known as *Visioenen* ('Visions'), which she likely wrote sometime between 1240-1250 when she was eighteen years old.

SCELLINCK, T. (1343), *Het "Boeck van Surgien" van Meester Thomaes Scellinck van Thienen*. E.D. Leersum (ed). Opuscula Selecta Neerlandicorum de Arte Medica, Amsterdam, 1928.
Scellinck was born in Tienen and lived as a surgeon during the 14th century in the town of Namen. There is no doubt about the origin of this text. As Scellinck himself says in the introduction (p.1) - "Daerom wil ic Thomaes Scellinck ... scriven ende maken enen boeck van surgien in dietscher talen". Although Scellinck often refers to early Greek and Roman sources, there is no question of this being a translation. Much of the text used here contains Scellinck's personal anaecdotes relating a number of his experiences as a surgeon in Brabant.

T Bouck van Wondre (1513). H.G. Frencken (ed). Thesis Rijksuniversiteit Leiden, 1943.
Unfortunately, the author of this work is not known. In 1583 there appeared an English translation which described the work as "a profitable booke which declares divers approved remedies to take out spots and stains in silkes, velvets, linnen and woollen, fustian on thread; also how to dress leather and how to colour felles". In addition to this, it also has a section at the end containing *ghenoechlycke stucken* which seem to be a mixture of useful hints for the medieval household as well as instructions on how to perform magic tricks for amusement.

DODONAEUS, REMBERTUS (±1550), *Cruydtboeck.* Antwerpen, 1644.
Dodonaeus, whose real name was Rembert van Joenckema, was born in Mechelen in 1516. In 1535 he graduated from the University of Louvain where he studied medicine. This extensive herbal (first published in 1554) contains the description for medicinal purposes of a great many herbs and plants indigenous to the Flemish provinces of the time.

VIERLINGH, ANDRIES (±1579), *Tractaet van Dyckagie.* J. de Hullu and A.G. Verhoeven (eds). 's-Gravenhage, Martinus Nijhoff, 1920.
Vierlingh is believed to have been born sometime around 1507 in Steenberghen where he then lived as a bailiff. This unusual treatise on the practice of dike-building during the 16th century is reckoned by De Hullu to have been written during the last years of Vierlingh's life. Because of his death around 1579 it remains incomplete.

POIRTERS, ADRIAAN (1646). *Het masker van de wereldt afgetrocken.* Gent, Snoeck-Ducaju en Zoon, s.d.
Poirters (1601-1674?) is distinguished as being one of the few southern writers to have come out of the 17th century. The prose work examined here, *The World's Mask Pulled Away*, contains a style very much more literary than any of the other texts used here. Nonetheless, because of the shortage of adequate text material for this time, it was included in the corpus.

BOLOGNINO,GUILIELMUS (1657). *Niuwe Noodelicke Ortographie tot het schrijven en 't drucken van onse Nederduytse Tale.* Antwerp, Jacob Mesens.
Bolognino was born in Antwerp in 1590. Having graduated in theology, he practised as a pastor in Antwerp until he died in 1669. This particular work of Bolognino's contains his own ideas on spelling reform and has some useful insights into the Antwerp dialect spoken at this time. There can be no doubt that Bolognino's language is authentically Brabantish since Bolognino himself was a very strong supporter of the Antwerp dialect as the standard language. As he says at the beginning of this work - "Doch den goedt-willigen leser sal beliven te weten, dat ick in dit schrift sonderling heb opsicht genomen op de Antwerpse tale, om dat dí de beste is onder de Nederduytse talen" (p.8).

2. Hollandish

Boec van medicinen in Dietsche (+1300) W.F. Daems (ed). Een Middelnederlandse compilatie van medisch-farmaceutische literatuur. Thesis Leiden, 1967.

Unfortunately, there is considerable doubt surrounding the authorship of this text. Daems suggests that a certain Broeder Thomas composed the original sometime around 1300, and another Broeder Aernt copied it a little later. Both were Franciscan friars during the 14th century although little more is known about their lives. The original location of the text is believed to be Utrecht. The work contains a number of remedies and recipes for various waters, oils, syrups and purgatives and at the end a short *Regimen Sanitatis* ('Regiment of Health').

BRAEKMAN, W.L. (ed.) (1970) *Middelnederlandse geneeskundige recepten: Een bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de vakliteratuur in de Nederlanden*. Gent, Koninklijke Vlaamse Academie.

BRAEKMAN, W.L. (ed.) (1975) *Medische en technische middelnederlandse recepten: Een tweede bijdrage tot de geschiedenis van de vaklitteratuur in de Nederlanden*. Gent, Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde.

These two collections contain four of the Hollandish texts used in this present study. Here they were labelled according to their approximate date of origin; i.e. Hollandish 1350, 1425, 1450 and 1500. These texts contain recipes for the preparation of various waters and oils, rules for blood letting, descriptions of different illness and their cures and also include instructions for the dying of cloth and leather. For the details on the texts I have relied on the comprehensive notes provided by Braekman on the dating and dialect characteristics of each manuscript.

ORLERS, JAN (1614) *Beschryvinghe der Stad Leyden*. Leiden, J.Haestens et al.

Orlers provides an extremely detailed account of the history of Leiden and a full description of the town. Although obviously no medical treatise, the extracts which were examined from this work dealt largely with the description of medical care and medical institutions in Leiden at this time. This ensured that as far as possible this text was thematically comparable with the other texts consulted here.

BEVERWYCK, JAN van (1651), *Alle de Wercken so in de medecyne als chirurgye*. Utrecht, H. Sprecht.

Beverwyck was born in Dordrecht in 1594. After studying medicine, he practised as a surgeon in Dordrecht until he died in 1647 at the age of fifty-three years. This book contains a collection of his works which he began to write in 1633. Those consulted here were his later works, principally *Heelkonste* (1645).

3. Additional Hollandish texts

The following are additional texts required for Hollandish in Chapter 7 on the development of negation. Most are considerably more literary than any of the above.

Een middelnederlandse versie van de "Circa Instans" van Platearius (1387). L.J. Vanderwiele (ed.). Oudenaarde, Sanderus, 1970.

As the title implies, this work is a version of an original Latin document believed to have been written in the late 12th century. The name *Circa Instans* is itself derived from the first two words of the Latin text. Like the other herbals examined here, this is also a compendium of medicinals arranged in alphabetical order. It is thought to have been the most popular herbal of the Middle Ages.

COORNHERT, D.V. (1586), *Zedekunst dat is wellevenskunste*. B. Becker (ed.). Leiden, E.J. Brill, 1942.

The prose work of this northern writer which was chosen here is one of his most famous - *Ethics, that is the Art of Living Well*. In this he discusses both the strengths and weaknesses he sees in mankind.

VONDEL, J. van den (±1650), *Poëtologisch Proza*. L. Rens (ed.). Klassiek Letterkundig Pantheon 221. Zutphen, Thieme, 1979.

Although of southern parents, Vondel (1587-1679) himself was born in Cologne. When he was young the family moved around a great deal, but when he was nine years old, they finally settled in Amsterdam. Vondel is known mainly for his drama and lyric poetry. The work chosen here, however, consists of his lesser known prose pieces.

TRICHT, H.W. van (ed.) (1976 & 1979), *De Briefwisseling van P.C.Hooft* (volumes 1 & 3). Theenk Willink/Noorduijn.

A contemporary of Vondel's, Hooft (1581-1647) is also best known for his drama and lyric poetry. The prose considered here is taken from his earliest letters written between 1599-1615 and his last letters between 1645-1647.

BONTEKOE, W.Y. (+1645), *Journael ofte gedenckwaerdige beschrijvinghe van de oost-indische reyse (1618-1625).* In: Spectrum van de Nederlandse Letterkunde II, Utrecht/Antwerpen, Spectrum, 1971.

This is one of a number of travel stories to appear at this time. Bontekoe offers a vivid account of his unfortunate journey to the East Indies on board the *Nieu-Hoorn*. It is believed to have been written twenty years after the journey had been completed.

FYNE, PASSCHIER de (+1659), *Het leeven en eenige bysondere voorvallen van Passchier de Fyne.* In: Spectrum van de Nederlandse Letterkunde II, Utrecht/Antwerpen, Spectrum, 1971.

Son of a Leiden weaver, Passchier de Fyne (1588-1667) tells of his life as a Protestant chaplain and his travels through various towns in the northern parts of the Netherlands. De Fyne's prose is simple and free from the highly elevated style characteristic of much of the literature of this time.

BLANKAART, STEPHAAN (1698), *Den Nederlandsichen Herbarius.* D.A. Wittop Koning (ed.). Stafleu's Wetenschappelijke Uitgeversmaatschappij, Brussel, B.V. Alphen a/d Rijn, 1980.

Blankaart was born in 1650 in Middelburg. After having studied medicine, he then practised in Amsterdam until he died in 1704. This herbal was first published in 1698 by Ian ten Hoorn. In it Blankaart provides the description of a number of Dutch plants, herbs, trees, mosses etc.. for medicinal purposes.

4. Legal texts

Additional legal texts were used from the following anthologies:

LOEY, A. van (1947), *Middelnederlands Leerboek.* Antwerpen, De Sikkel.

PRINS, F. (1933), "Antwerpsche teksten uit de jaren 1292-1312 en de eerste Brabantsche teksten in onze taal". In: *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde (p.301-357).*

VANGASSEN, H. (1954), *Bouwstoffen tot de historische taalgeografie van het Nederlands, Hertogdom Brabant.* Belgisch Inter-Universitair Centrum voor Neerlandistiek.

5. Supplementary texts

The following two texts were not included in the main body of data, although they were occasionally used to provide additional sentence examples.

Die Clareit- und Ypocrasrezepte in Thomas van der Noots "Notabel Boecxken van Kokeryen" (+1510). W.F.Daems (ed.). Fachliteratur des Mittelalters, Festschrift G.Eis (p.205-224). Stuttgart, 1968.

LINDEMANS, J. (1960), "Een Antwerps Receptenboekje van ca. 1575-1625". In: *Verslagen en Mededelingen van de Koninklijke Academie voor Nederlandse Taal- en Letterkunde* (p.94-128).

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ASHBY, W.J. (1976) "The loss of the negative morpheme, *ne* in Parisian French" in: *Lingua 39.* pp.119-137.

BACH, E. & R.J. HARMS (eds)(1968) *Universals in Linguistic Theory.* London/New York, Holt.

BAILEY, C. & K. MAROLDT, (1977) "The French Lineage of English" in: J.M. Meisel (ed) *Langues en contact/Languages in contact Pidgins-Creoles.* Tübingen, TBL Verlag Gunter Narr. pp.21-53.

BARNOUW, A.J. (1914) "Grammatical introduction to Beatrijs", an extract from *Publications of the Philosophical Society III.* Oxford, Oxford Uni Press.

BEAN, M.C. (1983) *The Development of Word Order Patterns in Old English.* London, Croom Helm.

BEHAGHEL, O. (1897) *Die Syntax des Heliand.* Vienna, F. Tempsky.

———— (1900) "Zur deutschen Wortstellung" in: *Wissenschaftliche Beihefte zur Zeitschrift des Allgemeinen Deutschen Sprachtvereins 17/18.* pp.233-251.

———— (1926) *Deutsche Satzlehre.* Leipzig, Quelle und Meyer.

———— (1930) "Zur Wortstellung des Deutschen" in: *Curme Volume of Linguistic Studies* (presented to G.O.Curme on the occasion of his 70th birthday). Philadelphia, Linguistic Society of America. pp.29-33.

———— (1932) *Deutsche Syntax.* Volume 4. Heidelberg, Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung.

BENEŠ, E. (1964) "Die Verbstellung im Deutschen von der Mitteilungsperspektive herbetrachtet" in: *Muttersprache* 74. pp.9-21.

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